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ALASKAN NATIVE SECONDARY SCHOOL DROPOUTS.

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DETERMINATIONS WERE MADE OF THE DROPOUT RATE AMONG NATIVE ALASKAN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS AND THE VARIOUS REASONS FOR FAILURE TO FINISH SCHOOL. THE STUDY SAMPLE WAS DRAWN FROM NINE ALASKAN HIGH SCHOOLS WITH OVER ONE-HALF NATIVE STUDENT ENROLLEES. NATIVES WERE DEFINED AS PERSONS BEING ONE-FOURTH OR MORE ESKIMO, INDIAN, OR ALEUT. APPROXIMATELY 1,200 STUDENTS IDENTIFIED AS DROPOUTS FROM SCHOOL FILES FOR THE PERIOD 1950-60 WERE SENT INFORMATION QUESTIONNAIRES AND WHEN THESE WERE COMPLETED A SMALLER, REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLE WAS INTERVIEWED TO DOCUMENT ALL RESPONSES. DATA WERE ALSO OBTAINED FROM VARIOUS SCHOOL PERSONNEL, PARENTS OF DROPOUTS, AND COMMUNITY RESIDENTS. FINDINGS SHOWED THAT ONLY ABOUT 35 PERCENT OF ALL HIGH SCHOOL AGE YOUTH WERE ACTUALLY IN SECONDARY SCHOOL. THE REMAINDER EITHER LEFT SCHOOL OR HAD BEEN RETAINED IN LOWER GRADES. IN GENERAL, THE DROPOUT WAS FOUND TO BE MALCONTENT, UNEMPLOYED, AND LACKING DIRECTION, AND HE BELIEVED HIS ORIGINAL DECISION TO LEAVE SCHOOL WAS UNFORTUNATE. THE DESIRE FOR ADDITIONAL EDUCATION WAS APPARENT, ESPECIALLY IN THE AREA OF VOCATIONAL SKILLS. DIFFICULTIES IN ADJUSTING TO LIFE IN SCHOOL, PERSONAL FEELINGS OF HOPELESSNESS, AND A LACK OF INDIVIDUAL ENCOURAGEMENT AND SELF-MOTIVATION WERE CITED AS MAJOR REASONS FOR LEAVING SCHOOL BEFORE GRADUATION. TO AMELIORATE THESE CONDITIONS, FURTHER RESEARCH WAS RECOMMENDED IN SEVERAL AREAS, INCLUDING--(1) CURRICULUM ENRICHMENT, (2) EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES IMPROVEMENT, (3) PROGRAMS FOR OUT-OF-SCHOOL YOUTH AND YOUNG ADULTS, (4) SELECTIVE TEACHER PROJECTS, AND (5) COMMUNITY-SCHOOL RELATIONSHIPS. QUESTIONNAIRE FORMS FOR THIS STUDY ARE AVAILABLE IN VOLUME 2 (ED 002 957). (JH)

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ALASKAN NATIVE SECONDARY SCHOOL DROPOUTS

A Research Report

by

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The research herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

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1962

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INTRODUCTION

Few problems exist today which have more serious overtones than the flagrant waste of human resources in the United States. With rapid advances in modern technology, a concomitant of an expanding industrial society, opportunities for the uneducated are limited indeed. Despite widespread concern about the continuing stream of young people who are entering the labor market with less than the barest educational minimum, no drastic correction of this problem is in sight.

Reports of a study conducted by the National Education Association provide the disturbing prediction that seven million youths will leave school before high school graduation in the next decade--seven million youths to join the ranks of the seventy million adults in the United States who have not obtained a secondary education.[1] That steps must be taken to correct the problem of the early school leaver is apparent. Methods which will stem effectively the exodus from the public schools of youth not adequately equipped for higher education or employment are not so apparent.

So complex are the reasons for youth leaving school that general research studies dealing with the topic may be suggestive for a particular school system but cannot serve as adequate guidelines for correcting the dropout problems in a specific community. The literature relating . school dropouts is valuable both for its research procedures and for the possible adaptation of selected recommendations. However, in the final analysis the problem of early school leavers is one which can be dealt with only by studying the specific population affected.

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[1] Fred M. Hechinger, "Adult Learning," The New York Times (May 27, 1962), E-11.

In 1959 research was completed which dealt broadly with the education of Alaskan native students. This study was financed by the United States Office of Education under the provisions of Public Law 531 and resulted in the publication of a report on major problem areas discovered in the survey of the total program of education for Alaskan native students.[1]

Paramount among problems encountered were findings which indicated the very small proportion of native youth who receive a secondary school diploma. Considering only the two high schools enrolling the largest number of native students in the state--Mount Edgecumbe and Nome--an annual dropout rate over a ten year period from 1947-57 was found to be 15 per cent and 20 per cent respectively of all native students enrolled.[2] Over a four-year period, therefore, the dropout rate would average 60 and 80 per cent respectively of the total number of native students enrolled in these schools. Despite the high dropout rate, it must be recognized that Alaskan secondary school native students represent a select group since entrance to high school is not easily accomplished. Few rural communities in the state provide secondary school facilities; therefore, the decision to continue schooling beyond the elementary level often requires the decision to leave home to attend the boarding school at Mount Edgecumbe or to attempt to obtain high school courses through the arduous and frequently monotonous route of correspondence study.

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[1] Charles K. Ray, A Program of Education for Alaskan Natives (revised edition; College, Alaska: University of Alaska, 1959).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 156.

Even though the secondary school dropout rate was found to be extremely high, greater cause for concern was provided by additional factors which had a bearing on statistics pertaining to school attendance. An elementary school education is not an assured reality despite the legal requirement that children attend school until they complete the eighth grade or reach the age of sixteen, whichever may occur first.[1] High rates of grade retardation, lax enforcement of compulsory attendance laws, and early marriages contribute to frequent dropout in the elementary grades. Despite the improvement of educational opportunities in Alaska, of 19,447 non-white adults twenty-five years of age and older residing in Alaska in 1960 (the majority of whom are of aboriginal stock), 7,503 had received fewer than five years of formal schooling. Three thousand four hundred and fifteen non-white adults had no formal schooling; and the median number of years of schooling completed by these Alaskan citizens is a disturbing six and six-tenths years.[1] The census figures cited compare closely with the limited sampling of early school leavers as determined in the initial study of native education where the median grade completed by students from Barrow, the largest Eskimo community in the state, during the 1947-57 period was the sixth grade.[2]

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[1] The Compiled School Laws: State of Alaska (Juneau: The State Department of Education, July 1, 1961), p. 64.

The proportion of native students who are not receiving the minimum education required to enter our modern society with adequate preparation for economic sufficiency nor who possess adequate knowledge for effective citizenship aroused concern which led to a proposal for research support to explore problems connected with school dropouts. The study was conceived as a natural outgrowth of the earlier research conducted in the area of native education wherein basic data gathered in the first study might provide a foundation for a detailed investigation of the serious dropout problem among native students. Financial assistance was received from the U. S. Office of Education under the same program providing support for the earlier study (Public Law 531). Basic definitions and terms used in the earlier study were kept identical with present usage so that information and pertinent statistics already available could be utilized fully. The term native, therefore, refers to persons who are one-fourth or more Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut. The term secondary school is used to include grades nine through twelve. And the term dropout is defined as a student who withdraws from school before completing requirements for graduation.

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[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. General Social and Economic Characteristics, Alaska, Final Report PC(1)-3C (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 54.

[2] Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

A Coordinating Committee was established to provide leadership in guiding the direction which the research was to follow and, perhaps of more importance, to help establish conclusions and recommendations which could be drawn from the findings. Members of the committee were selected to represent the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Alaska State Department of Education, and the University of Alaska. (Members serving on the Coordinating Committee are listed in Appendix A.)

While the Coordinating Committee provided valuable assistance throughout the project, several unavoidable circumstances occurred which lessened the effectiveness of the group. First, with all members engaged in professional duties which necessitated considerable travel, it was difficult to arrange general meetings which all could attend. However, individual members were consulted at regular intervals, and several meetings were held where a majority of the members was present. A second unfortunate circumstance involved two members of the Committee who changed positions during the duration of the study. Mr. James Hawkins, Area Director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and Dr. Theo J. Norby, Alaska Commissioner of Education, both served initially as committee members but left Alaska before the final study was completed. Both made valuable contributions to the project during the time they were in Alaska. Other consultants are listed in Appendix B.

An Executive Director of Research was employed to work under the direction of the Director of the study and with the Coordinating Committee. The Executive Director gathered data, tabulated results, helped in the formulation of conclusions and recommendations, and served as coauthor of the report. Fortunately, it was possible to obtain as Executive Director one who had had previous research experience in the area of Alaskan native education as well as teaching and supervisory experience in the Canadian Arctic.

The scope of the study was purposely restricted to allow investigation of the total student population involved--rather than to utilize sampling techniques. Therefore, despite the realization that many students leave school prior to high school entrance, and with the understanding that potential dropouts are apparent in the elementary school grades, a delimitation was imposed which provided for study of dropouts among native secondary school students only. To avoid costly and unnecessary analyses of school records in relatively large high schools enrolling a small number of native students, a further delimitation was imposed which restricted the investigation to secondary schools with a student population comprising 50 per cent or more native students. (A list of the schools meeting these qualifications is included in Appendix C.)

Two public school systems operate in Alaska. One is referred to as the state system and includes schools operated directly by the state and those operating in city and independent districts. The second system is operated by the federal government under the direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Only one Bureau of Indian Affairs high school now enrolls secondary school youth and of necessity limits its enrollment to native students. State schools now enroll native and non-native youth, causing the racial composition of state-operated secondary schools to be determined largely by the ethnic population of the community in which the school is located. Private high schools were also included in the study, but the combined total of students attending these schools is far below the enrollments in either state schools or the one federal boarding high school located at Mount Edgecumbe.

To provide as large a sampling of dropouts as feasible, records of students who left school before graduation were analyzed for a period extending from the 1949-50 school year through the 1959-60 academic year. Data for high school graduates covering the same period were obtained to provide comparative information. In some schools, records were incomplete and were supplemented from other sources.

Considerable attention was given to the complex problem of developing procedures for research which would help to determine underlying causes for dropouts among Alaskan native secondary school students. Clearly, no one reason exists for students leaving school. Also, it is easy to be trapped into false conclusions about causes for dropouts by taking at face value statements of pupils and parents who respond to questions about school, its importance, and factors which lead to the termination of the child's formal education. With these facts in mind, procedures were developed which it was hoped would probe more deeply than the usual questionnaire and interview into reasons for children leaving school.

Dropout studies conducted in school systems throughout the United States were consulted to secure useful approaches in obtaining information about Alaska's early school leavers. With adaptation, many worthwhile techniques which have been used in other studies of this nature were utilized. However, unlike many dropouts in other states, Alaskan native students face the additional burden of adjusting to schools which have been established along lines most appropriate for middle-class, urban, Caucasian students. The fact that the Alaskan native student has a different background and has developed cultural values different from the typical student in American schools adds immeasurably to the complexity of the problem under consideration.

Basic to the study, therefore, was the employment of a cultural anthropologist to visit selected Alaskan villages and to study current values held by natives which might conflict with those imposed by the dominant culture. Data were collected which dealt with motivation to obtain schooling and its future value as perceived by native pupils and adults.

The plan for the anthropological studies was developed to include field work in three selected villages which would represent variable conditions present in Alaskan native communities today. In determining villages to be studied, geographical location, ethnic population, size, and degree of acculturation were all considered. Alakanuk, Kotzebue, and Hoonah were selected as representative communities. Dr. Seymour Parker, who conducted the village studies, suggested that he proceed first to the village which had experienced the least contact with Western culture and would, therefore, provide a "base-line" of native values from which to draw later comparisons. Consequently, Alakanuk was the first community visited. Kotzebue, a larger Eskimo community located north of the Arctic Circle, was included as a village in transition. Hoonah, a Tlingit Indian community in Southeastern Alaska, represented the location with the longest exposure to Western influence and a community more nearly reflecting values imposed by non-natives than either of the other villages included in this section of the study.

The research was carried out by the usual anthropological techniques such as participant observation and unstructured interviews with adults and youths of high school age in each of the communities. Additional material was gathered from the teen-age population by the use of a sentence-completion form and a series of pictures designed to elicit free-imaginative stories. The latter technique will be described further in a later section of the study.

With the village studies providing insights into basic values held by Alaskan native students and adults, more specific information was obtained from school files, the dropouts themselves, native students who had completed high school and who could be used as a comparison group, and parents of both high school dropouts and graduates as well as other community residents.

A questionnaire was developed and circulated to all high school dropouts to obtain information about their withdrawal from school and those factors which might relate to the decision to leave school. (A sample questionnaire is attached in Appendix D.) The fact that students often seek socially acceptable reasons for explaining their behavior caused the major emphasis in the questionnaire to be given to objective factors such as present employment, number of jobs held, and age when the student left school. In addition, however, questions were included which dealt with elements of the school situation which the student

-esented as well as those he liked, although direct reasons for the student's leaving school were not obtained from his own statements. From 1319 questionnaires sent to student dropouts, 270 usable replies were received for a 32.84 per cent return.[1] Interviews conducted with student dropouts supplemented questionnaire data and supported for the most part information obtained through use of the questionnaire. Forty-five students were interviewed in representative communities throughout the state. (A list of interviewees may be found in Appendix E.) Additional interviews with parents of students who withdrew from school before completing the twelfth grade supported information obtained from students themselves. (A list of parents and community people interviewed is attached in Appendix F. Interview guides used in talking with dropouts and community people can be found in Appendices G and H. A list of communities visited in the course of interviews is included in Appendix I.)

In light of the fact that many native parents and students do not fully comprehend the usefulness or future value of formal education, the role of the teacher in providing impetus for continued schooling attains added importance in Alaska. That many teachers are unfamiliar with peculiar conditions surrounding the education of the rural

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[1] Calculation of per cent of returns was based on 819 possible respondents. The remaining 500 contacts were eliminated as 242 ultimately had graduated, 231 had no address on file, and 27 were deceased.

Alaskan child is evident. Therefore, a survey was conducted to determine how the teacher perceived his role in encouraging students to remain in school--or whether the teacher actually believed that there was value in the native child's obtaining a secondary school education. Since the pupils' attitudes toward school are developed considerably during the elementary years as well as in high school, the survey included teachers of native students on both elementary and secondary levels. Five hundred and forty-two attitude forms were circulated to teachers, and 388 were returned for a respectable 71.6 per cent response. (A copy of the Alaskan School Personnel Survey form is included in Appendix J. A list of school personnel contacted personally is attached in Appendix K.)

Fortunately, the availability of an IBM computer at the University of Alaska provided rapid and accurate statistical tabulations. Each questionnaire was coded and processed through the IBM Data Processing Center, allowing more detailed information to be obtained from these forms than would have been possible had manual tabulation been demanded.

No study of high school dropouts can ignore the human element. Throughout the study, it became increasingly apparent that the factors contributing to dropout were related and often preventable had one person played a slightly different role in the drama. The use of statistical analyses in tabulating research instruments, therefore, should not provide the delusion that objective conclusive reasons for dropout were obtained or that mere administrative reforms or curricular revisions will correct the tragedy of the early school leaver. While conclusions have been reached and recommendations formulated which it is hoped will reduce the incidence of dropout among native students, the part played by the individual teacher and principal in his own relationship with students will remain of paramount importance.

The major purposes of the study, therefore, are threefold: (1) to determine the major reasons for native high school students leaving school prior to high school graduation; (2) to determine what the schools might do to reduce secondary school dropouts; and (3) to provide greater understanding on the part of teachers and administrators in native schools of the conflicts and problems faced by the student from an atypical culture who struggles to comprehend the imposed values of an educational system developed for a different group—often incomprehensible and at least as strange and irrational to the student as the student may be to his teacher.

CHAPTER I

THE DROPOUT PARADOX--A MAJOR CONTRADICTION OF OUR TIMES

DEVELOPING CONCEPTS OF UNIVERSAL EDUCATION

For more than a half century in the United States "lip service" has been paid to the desirable concept of providing universal education which would extend through the twelfth grade for all American youth. Legally, the provisions for secondary school education at public expense were established in the influential court decision reached in 1874 in Michigan and popularly referred to as the Kalamazoo Case.[1] Philosophically, acceptance of the idea of extending the schooling of all youth through the secondary school grades was spurred by the report issued by the Commission on Reorganization of Secondary Education in the year 1918. The Commission urged that all normal boys and girls be encouraged to remain in school until they reached the age of eighteen.[2] Yet, operationally we have fallen far short of providing the type of educational opportunities appropriate for youth possessing varied abilities, interests, backgrounds, and purposes.

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[1] Stuart vs. School Dist. No. 1 of Village of Kalamazoo, 30 Mich. 69 (1874).

[2] United States Bureau of Education, Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education. A Report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education Appointed by the National Education Association (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), pp. 29-30.

A foundation for the concept of universal education was established early in the history of our country. Jefferson's "Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge," prepared in 1779, established a framework for free education which would extend through the university for those who were academically able to profit from this schooling,[1] although the type of education favored by Jefferson would not have been appropriate for the majority of adolescents of the day. While Jefferson's bill did not receive the support of the Virginia legislature, many of the ideas of free schooling for those who could meet the prescribed qualifications were introduced into the public's thoughts; and the tenet that one's ability to pay should not determine his educational attainment was implanted. Jefferson himself stated that the purpose of the bill was to "'defeat the competition of wealth and birth for public positions'."[2]

Earlier still, Benjamin Franklin imparted a more practical note in his "Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania (1749)" in which he advanced a curricular plan designed for commercial and productive classes--a curriculum which would include among other subjects physical education, modern English, oratory, natural history, gardening, and agriculture.[1]

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[1] Gordon C. Lee, (ed.), Crusade Against Ignorance: Thomas Jefferson on Education, Classics in Education No. 6 (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1961), pp. 83-92.

[2] Harry G. Good, A History of American Education (second edition; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962), p. 91.

While Franklin and many leaders who followed him advocated a broadening of the secondary school curriculum to provide optimum opportunity for students who would not continue their education beyond this level, college and university domination of the high school course of study remained essentially unchallenged until after 1900. Twenty years earlier, enrollments began an unbelievable spiral which caused the number of pupils enrolled in public secondary schools to double each decade from 1880 through 1930.[2] Consequently, with the rapid influx of students, a number of whom would not continue to college, it was inevitable that conflicting purposes and patterns of education should develop. Appropriately enough, therefore, in light of the times, a committee was appointed by the National Education Association to study the problems of the secondary schools, and the NEA chose as those best qualified to serve in this capacity five college presidents, a college professor, three secondary school principals, and the United States Commissioner of Education.[3] As might be expected, the

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[1] Ibid., pp. 74-75.

[2] Educational Policies Commission, Public Education and the Future of America (Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1955), p. 46.

[3] Lawrence A. Cremin, "The Revolution in American Secondary Education, 1893-1918," Teachers College Record, LVI (March, 1955), 296.

proposals recommended by this committee stressed the need for preparing a selective segment of the population in those areas included in the college curriculum. No conflict appeared in their thinking between preparation for college and preparation for life, and by implication the high school was to remain a downward extension of college.[1]

However, important social changes which occurred after the turn of the century caused what Cremin calls a "revolution" in American secondary education,[2] and further re-evaluation of the role of the high school in America caused the development of what has become a more functional and complex institution which is unique in the world today.

A number of characteristics epitomize today's secondary schools and set them apart from those in other countries. Most important, perhaps, they are called upon to serve all normal youth of the nation regardless of occupational objectives or degree of academic competence, yet do so in a common setting whereby the college preparatory student will not be segregated from the student who will enter the trades.

As early as 1836, the first superintendent of common schools in Ohio wrote:

> Take fifty lads in a neighborhood, including rich and poor--send them in childhood to the same school--let them join in the same sports, read and spell in the same classes, until their different circumstances fix their business for life: some go

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[1] Ibid., p. 297.

[2] Ibid., p. 295.

> to the field, some to the mechanic's shop, some to merchandize: one becomes eminent at the bar, another in the pulpit: some become wealthy; the majority live on with a mere competency--a few are reduced to beggary! But let the most eloquent orator, that ever mounted a western stump, attempt to prejudice the minds of one part against the other--and so far from succeeding, the poorest of the whole would consider himself insulted.[1]

Well over a century later, contemporary endorsement of the value of educating children from all backgrounds and with diverse interests in a common social setting can be found in the very influential report on the American high school by James Conant.[2]

VALUES OF EDUCATION

That formal schooling provides value both to the individual and to the society in which he lives is too apparent to justify detailed argument. While the personal dignity and self-satisfaction which come from education cannot easily be measured, few dispute the importance of these factors. More frequent references are made to the economic and material advantages of obtaining an adequate education (although considerable disagreement exists as to what constitutes an adequate education) since undoubtedly these tangible assets which accrue through education can be charted.

Financially a high school graduate may expect to earn $30,000 more during his lifetime than one who leaves school prior to graduation. His earnings will exceed by $50,000 the earnings of the student who has but an eighth grade education.[1] In a study encompassing sixty-six countries throughout the world, Clark found a clear relationship between the level of education and the standard of living.[2] Similar relationships have been shown in comparing number of grades of schooling completed by citizens of a state within the United States and the standard of living in that state as defined by employment rate and income.

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[1] Educational Policies Commission, op. cit., p. 18.

[2] James B. Conant, The American High School Today (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959).

From the negative vantage point, clear evidence can be cited to show that lack of education is a permanent and often insurmountable obstacle to productive service. Labor leaders make annual pleas for young people on the verge of leaving school to reconsider. Handbooks have been prepared by the United States Department of Labor describing in detail how communities can organize and carry out "stay in school campaigns."[3] These campaigns have received the enthusiastic support and endorsement of the United States Departments of Defense and Health, Education, and Welfare.

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[1] "High School Dropouts," NEA Research Bulletin, XXXVIII (February, 1960), 11.

[2] Harold F. Clark, "How Schools Can Help Raise Living Standards," School Executive, LXXI (November, 1951), 51.

[3] United States Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, National Stay-in-School Campaign. Handbook for Communities (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1957).

The diminishing proportion of jobs in a modern technological society which can be filled by unskilled and uneducated individuals causes concern among all who are cognizant of the problem. Although 29 per cent of the total labor force in 1950 was classified as unskilled industrial laborers, projections are that by 1975 no more than 22 per cent of the labor force will be unskilled.[1] An indisputable relationship exists, therefore, between unemployment and level of education. With few exceptions, automation studies show that the unemployed, or those replaced by machines, are persons with low levels of formal education and with few specialized skills. The problem of jobless youth and those entering the labor market with nothing to sell was described recently by Eli E. Cohen, Executive Secretary of the Nongovernmental National Committee on Employment of Youth. His major concern about nearly one million unemployed youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five was summed up as follows:

> Educational requirements are rising everywhere. A generation ago, an elementary school diploma was considered adequate for many jobs. Today, high school graduation is a minimum requirement for most. . . . Within the next ten years post-high school education for two years at a junior college or technical institute will replace the high school diploma as a basic requirement.
>
> The tragic part of it all is that studies of dropouts show that 70 percent have at least average intelligence and would be capable of completing high school. Between 6 and 13 percent are bright enough to do college work. It is estimated that by

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[1] "High School Dropouts," NEA Research Bulletin, p. 11.

> 1965, there will be only five high school graduates for every seven jobs requiring specific skills, while three unskilled workers will compete for every two jobs for which they qualify.[1]

Awareness of the strong relationship between educational skills and unemployment led Illinois' Cook County Department of Public Aid and Chicago's public school system to embark on an interesting and courageous experiment. Fifty thousand able-bodied adult relief recipients are being compelled to attend school to retain their eligibility for assistance.[2] This program, the first of its kind in the nation, will be watched carefully to determine its success. Raymond Hilliard, Cook County Welfare Director, explained the program by stating:

> This is a drastic step, but it seems to be the only means to prevent the perpetuation of dependency on relief through future generations. . . . It is unthinkable that these able-bodied persons and their dependents should face a lifetime of idleness on relief. . . . For them there can be no future employment in our rapidly automating economy unless something is done to prepare them for a productive role someplace in the new economic order. Ignorance is infectious.[3]

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[1] "Monthly Report on Automation Trends for March 1962," (Cook County Department of Public Aid, May 9, 1962), pp. 6-7. (Mimeographed.)

[2] "Order Reliefers to School," Chicago Daily News, March 14, 1962, p. 1.

[3] Ibid.

CONFLICTING PURPOSES OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

Despite the general acceptance of the principle of universal education extending through the secondary school grades, there are many persons who, through their actions and advocacies, defy this concept. Currently, a number of vocal critics of the schools provide recommendations which, if followed, would cause more students to leave the schools than would remain until high school graduation. The position taken by Rickover illustrates a common type of recommendation which is found increasingly in educational literature:

> Even the below-average child who may be two to three years behind the average in mental age and whose maximum capacity may be limited to the sixth grade--even he ought to be taught the same basic course of study given in the first six elementary years, though at a much slower rate. It may take him until age 15 or 16 to complete the sixth grade. . . .
>
> For all children, the educational process must be one of collecting factual knowledge to the limit of their absorptive capacity. Recreation, manual or clerical training, etiquette, and similar know-how have little effect on the mind itself and it is with the mind that the school must solely concern itself. The poorer a child's natural endowments, the more does he need to have his mind trained. . . .
>
> To acquire such knowledge, fact upon fact, takes time and effort. Nothing can really make it fun.[1]

While elaboration of sharp disagreements over Rickover's position will not be presented, it should be pointed out that the concept which embodies "training the mind" and presenting certain skills which would carry over into other areas of life through teaching certain "intellectual" subjects was disproved by the work of Thorndike and other psychologists shortly after the turn of the century. Furthermore, studies of school dropouts consistently show a relationship between retardation and propensity for early school leaving. If followed, Rickover's recommendation that a child be kept at the fifth or sixth grade level even though he may be sixteen years of age would clearly undermine the efforts of the schools to keep children in school.

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[1] Hyman G. Rickover, "A Comparison: European Vs. American Secondary Schools," Phi Delta Kappan, XL (November, 1958), 61.

Typically, recommendations which are contradictory to the generally accepted purposes of the schools come from self-appointed reformers from outside the profession who are, nonetheless, sincerely concerned with educational improvement, but who frequently fail to view the school in the total social and economic setting in which it operates. However, there are also those in the field of education who support positions which tend to be at cross-purposes with the concept of universal education. Max Rafferty, a superintendent of schools in California, presents a scathing picture of juvenile delinquents in the school who, according to him, should be thrown out:

> One way or another, the Slob must go. Those of his ilk who have passed the point of no return must be excluded from our schools as socially uneducable, even as we exclude the unfortunate imbecile as mentally uneducable. And let no one challenge our right to take this step. The Slob is more dangerous to his classmates than a walking case of typhoid or tuberculosis. We have not only

> the right, but the clear and positive duty to quarantine him.[1]

Inevitably, there will be conflicting purposes and internal contradictions in any series of institutions as large, as complex, and as visionary as those comprising the American public school system. Yet care must be taken to prevent educational "reforms" which will increase the problems that so many are working to correct. Stated positively, steps must be taken to provide flexibility in the school program which will provide a sufficiently attractive setting to aid in increasing the school's holding power.

Mackenzie summarizes this position by stating:

> Certainly we have made great progress in serving more and more youngsters of varying ability levels from the several segments of our population. I believe we have been reaching many who may have special aptitudes other than or in addition to what we call academic intelligence. But we are not doing well enough. If we recognize the current needs for vastly increased numbers of highly educated individuals, or if we operate on the basis of our belief that every human is entitled to the maximum of education which he can use, we should not be content with our present school programs. We should serve that 35 per cent of our youth who drop out of high school. We should help that 50 per cent of our relatively high intellectual ability youth who are not now adequately challenged to use their capacities by continuing their education. We should learn how to serve those youth who because of limited background or for other reasons are not challenged or do not find success in our schools. We should define the gifted much more broadly and learn to recognize and

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[1] Max Rafferty, "The Cult of the Slob," *Phi Delta Kappan*, XL (November, 1958), 59.

> serve those who have socially useful talents as well as the mere ability to learn what schools have always taught.[1]

STEPS TAKEN TO DECREASE DROPOUT RATE

An understanding of the importance of formal education has caused all states and most school districts to take positive steps designed to increase the educational attainment of the children served. While the approaches differ in specific respects, many general practices have evolved which are common in schools today. Without exception, states have established compulsory attendance laws which require children to remain in school until they have reached a specific age. While the requirements differ, the average and by far the most common age below which a child may not leave school is sixteen. Only the state of Maine has a lower requirement, having as its compulsory age fifteen;[2] and Alaska specifies that a child may leave school after he has reached the age of sixteen or completed the eighth grade--whichever occurs first.[3] Several states require that a youth reach the age of seventeen before leaving school; four states have established eighteen as the compulsory attendance age.[1]

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[1] Gordon N. Mackenzie, "Proposals for the American Secondary School Curriculum," (All-College Lecture-Film Series, Teachers College, Columbia University, July, 1960), pp. 7-8. (Mimeographed.)

[2] Tyrus Hillway, Education in American Society: An Introduction to the Study of Education (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1961), pp. 33-35.

[3] The Compiled School Laws: State of Alaska (Juneau: Alaska State Department of Education, July 1, 1961), p. 64.

While compulsory education is, of course, desirable, legal insistence that children attend school does not solve the problem of the early school leaver. In Alaska, as elsewhere, children under the legal age limit terminate their schooling; and equally important, many who attend school under compulsion find little of value in school and consequently become trouble-makers to both teachers and administrators. And like leading the horse to water only to find that he won't drink, children who are forced to attend school and who go under duress may not profit to any great extent from the classroom activities provided.

Essential to reducing dropouts is the practice long advocated of providing a sufficiently differentiated curriculum to account for the different abilities and interests of young people who attend secondary school. Myriad approaches to achieving this objective have been investigated and utilized. Variation in school progress which encompasses both retardation and acceleration is employed in an attempt to assure that students will be placed at their optimum level of competence. Ability grouping is another attempt to arrange through an organizational pattern an opportunity for differentiated instruction.

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[1] Hillway, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

Separate schools for different groups have been advocated as an additional means of providing an academic preparation for the college-bound youngster and a more functional type of education for the less academically inclined student. Track systems, provision of more elective subjects to allow for different abilities, and individualization of instruction within each class according to a student's level of competence are methods used separately or in combination to differentiate instruction. While objections can be raised and problems can be shown to exist in each approach method mentioned, the objective is sound and absolutely essential if the school is to serve all students regardless of their abilities and interests.

The number of small high schools in the United States makes infeasible (even if it were considered desirable) the creation of separate high schools for vocational and academic education. Vocational students need academic courses, and the separation of students at the high school level into future occupational categories is difficult to defend. Because retardation is closely related to dropout, this approach to differentiated instruction does not contribute positively to the solution of the problem under consideration. Of more promise are attempts to individualize instruction in each class and to provide a broader curriculum, including the addition of electives which will be appropriate for students with varying interests and capabilities.

As an outgrowth of the provisions for a broader and more functional curriculum, work experience programs have developed. The term "work experience" has been used loosely and defined in dozens of ways, but most commonly the term simply refers to programs of work which occur during school hours as part of the regular school program.[1] Work experience programs are not restricted to the less academically inclined students. Clearly, a student who is attempting to select a professional goal can learn much through arranged employment in the field of his tentative choice. However, considerable promise exists in work experience programs for students who are potential dropouts and find little satisfaction in the regular school program. Work programs help to bridge the gap between the academic preparation that a student must have and the functional instruction for which he can see application and immediate value.

The necessity for even greater curricular choice for potential high school dropouts than now exists is supported by a survey of school leavers conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Seymour Wolfbein, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor, concludes:

> As we have already indicated, most of the dropouts expressed some dissatisfaction with the school programs available to them. These expressions of dissatisfaction may be, at least in part, rationalizations of young people because of their very action in leaving school. But these responses were prevalent and consistent enough to warrant the suggestion that it may be worthwhile to take a hard

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[1] DeWitt Hunt, Work Experience Education Programs in American Secondary Schools, U. S. Office of Education, Bulletin 1957, No. 5 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1957), p. 3.

> look at the curricula available for persons such as these. Is it possible to design courses of instruction which can hold the interest and be of substantive value to at least some of the young people who do not make headway within existing practice? Is it possible to offer an even broader choice of educational avenues down which this kind of high school student can move with dignity?[1]

Provision of additional choice, however, while necessary in reducing the number of dropouts and serving students with varying abilities regardless of whether they leave or remain in school, requires in addition counseling and guidance services, which are perhaps the key to success in the comprehensive high school. Information is required which will enable students to make intelligent academic decisions. Frequently, the student enters classes or curricula which are entirely unrealistic in terms of his aptitudes. With additional guidance personnel, schools are able increasingly to direct students into elective courses which are both useful and realistic in terms of their probable success. Conant strongly recommends improvements in present guidance service which include providing one guidance counselor for each two hundred fifty to three hundred students.[2] Clearly, improved guidance services have reduced dropouts although the majority of schools is inadequately staffed with guidance personnel to test the actual results of these efforts.

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[1] Seymour L. Wolfbein, "Transition from School to Work: A Study of the School Leaver, " The Personnel and Guidance Journal, XXXVIII (October, 1959), p. 104.

[2] Conant, The American High School Today, p. 44.

Numerous studies have detailed the characteristics of the "typical high school dropout." A resume of these findings will not be undertaken. However, to support the need for guidance which will aid the student in entering courses and programs of study suitable for him, it is pertinent to note that findings of research studies confirm the fact that

> dropouts feel that the school curriculum did not meet their needs. They see little of value in their school experience and regard high school as a waste of time. Dropouts report that they have an interest in the practical.[1]

STUDENTS FROM CULTURAL MINORITY GROUPS

One of the most distressing factors repeatedly discovered in studies of early school leavers pertains to the relationship between the dropout and his family background. Consistently, the student whose parents have had little or no formal education finds less purpose in continuing his schooling than is apparent with more fortunate children. Psychologists and educators are increasingly concerned about those students with ability who do not obtain sufficient education to realize, even remotely, their potentialities. Terms such as disadvantaged, deprived, lower class, and underprivileged are often used to describe these youth who present a much greater challenge to the system of public education in America than do students from the dominant culture. In his book, The Culturally Deprived Child, Riessman answers convincingly the question "Why bother with the education of the underprivileged child?" by stating:

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[1] Paul H. Bowman and Charles V. Matthews, Motivations of Youth for Leaving School (Chicago: University of Chicago, Quincy Youth Development Project, September, 1960), p. 6.

> It would be easy to answer that we must educate the deprived because they are a source of needed manpower, or because everyone deserves an education. But perhaps there is a deeper reason. It is essential to democracy to combat the anti-intellectualism, prejudice, and intolerance that are bound to be characteristics of any educationally deprived group, and are, in fact, dominant motifs of the disadvantaged in America. Fundamentally, education combats narrow thinking.[1]

Riessman also states that in 1960, one child out of every three in the fourteen largest cities of the United States was culturally deprived.[2] A large portion of the underprivileged citizens of our country represent cultural and racial minorities. With these cultural and racial minorities are found values and motivations in conflict with the aims of the modern public school. Accumulation of underprivileged children in the large cities has been referred to by Conant as "social dynamite"[3] and presents an urgent responsibility which public education cannot ignore.

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[1] Frank Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), p. 2.

[2] Ibid., p. 1.

[3] James B. Conant, Slums and Suburbs (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1961), p. 2.

EDUCATION FOR ALASKA'S CULTURAL MINORITIES

Alaska's cultural minority groups, unlike those described by Conant and other writers, are not found in cities but rather reside typically in small, isolated communities far removed from major population centers. While such distinctions minimize common problems of juvenile delinquency and racial discrimination which occur in urban population centers where Caucasians and racial minority groups are in frequent contact, educationally, new problems are introduced.

Tables 1 and 2 show the village population trends in communities maintaining schools in which the enrollments are predominately native. While changes in village populations from 1940 to 1960 are shown, and a number of villages are growing at a dramatic rate, the large number of communities with total population below two hundred illustrates vividly the rural nature of Alaska's native schools. Concurrently, an analysis of the village populations itemized in Tables 1 and 2 makes apparent the difficulties inherent in providing secondary school facilities for children residing in the remote areas. Few communities have a sufficient number of adolescents eligible for secondary school education to justify the establishment of high schools in the local villages. With an absence of local facilities, in the majority of cases the child must leave his home to enter the ninth grade.

Striking progress has been shown in the development

TABLE 1

POPULATION TRENDS OF VILLAGES IN WHICH STATE NATIVE SCHOOLS ARE BEING OPERATED[a]

NAME OF TOWN	1940	1950	1960	GAIN OR LOSS
Aleknagik	78[b]	153[b]	181	+103
Allakaket	105	79	115	+10
Angoon	342	429	395	+53
Aniak	122	142	308	+186
Anvik	110	99	120	+10
Bethel	376	651	1258	+882
Bettles Field	10	47	77	+67
Candle	119	105	103	-16
Chignik Lagoon[c]			108	
Clark's Point	22	128	138	+116
Copper Center	138	90	151	+13
Craig	505	374	273	-232
Crooked Creek	48	43	92	+44
Dillingham	278	577	424	+146
Ekuk[c]			40	
Fort Yukon	274	446	701	+427
Gakona	46	50	33	-13

[a] Population figures, 1939 through 1960, from Table 8, U. S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Population: 1960*. Vol. I, *Number of Inhabitants*, Part 3, Alaska. (Washington Printing Office, 1960).

[b] Population figures from Table 5, U. S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Population: 1950*. Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population*, Parts 51-54, Territories and Possessions. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953).

[c] Complete population data unavailable.

TABLE 1 (continued)

NAME OF TOWN	1940	1950	1960	GAIN OR LOSS
Hoonah	716	563	686	-30
Hughes	32	49	69	+37
Huslia[c]		65	168	
Hydaburg	348	353	251	-97
Kake	419	376	455	+36
King Cove	135	162	290	+155
Klawock	455	404	251	-204
Kobuk	31	38	54	+23
Koyukuk	106	79	128	+22
Larsen Bay	38	53	72	+34
McGrath	138	175	241	+103
Manley Hot Springs	39	29	72	+33
Mentasta Lake[c]			40	
Metlakatla	674	817	798	+124
Naknek	152	174	249	+97
Nikolai[c]		88	85	
Nome	1559	1876	2316	+757
Northway[c]			196	
Nyac	33	64	54	+19
Pauloff Harbor	61	68	77	+16
Pedro Bay[c]		44	53	
Red Devil[c]			152	
Ruby	138	132	157	+19
Russian Mission	34	55	102	+68
Sand Point	99	107	254	+155
Tanana	170	228	349	+179
Teller	118	160	217	+99
Tenakee	188	140	60	-128
Unalaska	298	173	218	-80
Unga	152	107	43	-109
Yakutat	292	298	230	-62

TABLE 2

POPULATION TRENDS OF VILLAGES IN WHICH BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS SCHOOLS ARE BEING OPERATED[a]

NAME OF TOWN	1940	1950	1960	GAIN OR LOSS
Akiachak	156	179	229	+73
Akiak	209	168	187	-22
Alakanuk	61	140	278	+117
Arctic Village	24	53	110	+86
Atka	89	85	119	+30
Barrow	363	951	1314	+951
Beaver	88	101	101	+13
Buckland[b]		108	87	
Chalkyitsik[b]			57	
Chaneliak	92	100	93	+1
Chevak	43	230	315	+272
Chefornak[b]		106	133	
Deering	230	174	95	-135
Diomede[b]		103	88	
Eagle	73	55	92	+19
Eek	170	141	200	+30
Elim[b]		154	145	
Galena	44	176	261	+217
Gambell	296	309	358	+62
Holikachuk	77	98	122	+45
Hooper Bay	299	307	460	+161
Kalskag	76	139	147	+71
Kaltag	140	121	165	+25

[a] Population figures, 1939 through 1960, from Table 8, U. S. Bureau of Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Vol. I, Number of Inhabitants, Part 3, Alaska. (Washington Printing Office, 1960).

[b] Complete population data unavailable.

TABLE 2 (continued)

NAME OF TOWN	1940	1950	1960	GAIN OR LOSS
Kasigluk	66	111	244	+178
Kiana	167	181	253	+86
Kipnuk	144	185	221	+77
Kivalina	98	117	142	+44
Klukwan	97	91	112	+15
Koliganek[b]		90	100	
Kotlik	35	44	57	+22
Kotzebue	372	623	1290	+918
Koyuk	100[c]	134[c]		
Kwethluk	186	242	325	+139
Kwigillingok	146	245	344	+198
Kwiguk[b]			358	
Lower Kalskag[b]		88	122	
Manokotak[b]		120	149	
Mekoryuk[b]		156	242	
Minto	135	152	161	+26
Mountain Village[b]	128[c]	221[c]		
Napakiak	113	139	190	+77
Napaskiak	67	121	154	+87
Newktok[b]		69	129	
New Stuyahok[b]		88	145	
Nightmute	78	27	237	+159
Noatak	336	326	275	-61
Noorvik	211	248	384	+173
Northway[b]		196[c]	196	
Nunapitchuk	121	125	327	+206
Pilot Station	39	52	219	+180
Point Hope	257	264	324	+67
Quinhagak[b]	224[c]	194[c]		
St. Michael	142	157	205	+53
Savoonga[b]	209[c]	249[c]		

[c] Population figures from Table 5, U. S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Population: 1950*. Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population*, Parts 51-54, Territories and Possessions. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953).

TABLE 2 (continued)

NAME OF TOWN	1940	1950	1960	GAIN OR LOSS
Scammon Bay	88	103	115	+27
Selawik	239	273	348	+109
Shageluk	92	100	155	+63
Shaktoolik	128	127	187	+59
Shishmaref	257	194	217	-40
Shungnak	193	141	135	-58
Sleetmute	86	120	122	+36
Stebbins	98	115	158	+60
Stevens Village	54	84	102	+48
Tanacross	135	137	102	-33
Teller Mission[b]		109	77	
Tetlin	66	73	122	+66
Togiak	10	108	220	+210
Tuluksak	88	116	137	+49
Tuntutuliak[b]		68	144	
Tununak[b]	65[c]	112[c]		
Unalakleet	329	469	574	+245
Venetie	86	81	107	+21
Wainwright	341	227	253	-88
Wales	193	141	128	-65
White Mountain	199	129	151	-48

and expansion of elementary schools in remote areas since the establishment of Alaska's school system in 1884 and the meager appropriation of $25,000 which was allowed for this task in 1885.[1] Today, nearly all communities which can muster the minimum enrollment of ten students required for school establishment have elementary schools offering work through the first eight grades.[2] Understandably, shifting populations often cause schools to be closed or delays to occur before a new school can be organized. Problems exist, of course, in improving facilities, recruiting teachers for remote areas, and providing proper supervision for rural schools. However, basic elementary programs do exist and are available for all who are eligible to attend. Even in those few areas where elementary schools are not available, provisions are made for children to obtain elementary schooling at a boarding school operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Wrangell.

The major problem area in Alaskan education, therefore, is found at the secondary school level. Several proposals have been devised in attempting to solve this complex problem—increasingly complex perhaps because of the expanding elementary school population and the accelerated demand for education beyond that provided in the elementary schools. Early efforts on the part of the Bureau of Indian Affairs resulted in the establishment of boarding schools whereby students left home to enter high school. Currently, one Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding high school remains in Alaska and is located at Mount Edgecumbe. While traditionally the Bureau of Indian Affairs has operated on the justifiable theory that a sufficiently large enrollment must be maintained to provide a flexible, varied curriculum with attractive electives for different students, recent changes have been noted. With exploding enrollments and the necessity for rejecting applicants who apply at Mount Edgecumbe High School because of space limitations, ninth and tenth grades have been added in certain larger communities which will allow students to enter these additional grades in their home villages. Future plans include establishment of four-year high schools in those villages in which enrollments justify such action. As of July, 1962, over three hundred students have applied for admission to Mount Edgecumbe High School in spite of the fact that only slightly over two hundred can be admitted.[1] More applications will undoubtedly be received later in the year despite discouragement by teachers and administrators who are cognizant of Mount Edgecumbe's limited capacity. Students who apply are screened on the bases of age, achievement test scores, and related data which tend to indicate probable academic success. While it is deplorable that all students, regardless of ability, cannot continue their schooling beyond the eighth grade level, certain justification does exist for this type of screening, in light of the need for accepting a limited number of applicants. However, the invalidity of standardized test scores developed from norm groups which are typically urban, middle-class Caucasian are completely unrealistic as standards to be used for Alaskan native youth.

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[1] Ray, op. cit., p. 21.

[2] Rules and Regulations of the State Board of Education (Juneau: Alaska State Department of Education, July 1, 1961), p. 34.

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[1] Statistics furnished by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Memorandum from Mrs. Cleone Secrist, July 11, 1962).

The school system operated by the state has not included boarding facilities for students from rural communities. Extremely small high schools have been established which still operate. For example, during the 1961-62 academic year, a high school in Fort Yukon enrolled but twenty-eight students, Ninilchik had thirty-four students in its high school, and fewer than twenty students comprised the entire population of the St. Paul Island High School.[1] To serve those students in communities where no high school operates, the Alaska Department of Education, since 1939, has purchased correspondence courses from the University of Nebraska Extension Division. During the biennium from 1958 to 1960, 785 correspondence courses were purchased for 215 high school students. Sixty per cent of the courses have been completed.[2] Correspondence study clearly serves as a stop-gap measure for students who wish to pursue their education in small villages, but does not by any means provide a desirable substitute for direct teaching and the comprehensive curriculum offered by the average secondary school.

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[1] Alaska Educational Directory, School Year 1961-62 (Juneau: Alaska Department of Education, 1961), pp. 50, 53-54.

[2] Report of the Commissioner of Education, School Biennium Ended June 30, 1960 (Juneau: Alaska State Department of Education, 1960), p. 25.

Neither the boarding school plan whereby students are forced to leave their families to obtain an education nor the operation of small high schools is an ideal solution for the dilemma presented by the small, scattered communities in which reside the majority of Alaska's native population. However, some combination of the two plans is inevitable. While many residents of small villages favor the establishment of a local high school, other more sophisticated citizens realize that the type of school which could be operated on the basis of their small secondary school population would not provide an adequate education for their children.

Regardless of the plan invoked, immediate action is imperative. Of the 5,368 native students who were of secondary school age in 1960, 1,832, or only 34.1 per cent, were actually enrolled in high school.[1] However, many students of high school age were attending elementary schools. Considering the fact that these high school youngsters are already a selective population since the majority of native students do not complete eighth grade, the situation becomes an almost unbelievable paradox between theory and practice. Qualified students who are seeking a secondary school education are denied the opportunity. In a nation committed to universal education and maintaining the highest standard of living in the world, the fact that facilities do not exist to permit children to obtain more than an elementary school education makes corrective action mandatory.

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[1] Erick L. Lindeman, (director), "A Foundation for Alaska's Public Schools: Report of a Survey" (Prepared for the Alaska State Board of Education, September, 1961), p. 7. (Mimeographed.)

As previously described, the present study includes only dropouts at the secondary school level. However, factors in the elementary grades which influence dropouts among Alaska's native population may well be the highest for any group in the United States. In conducting a dropout study for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Overstreet found that by tracing enrollments over an eight year period grade by grade losses in total student enrollment exceeded 60 per cent. Table 3 gives enrollments by grades and years for Bureau of Indian Affairs schools from 1955 to 1962. While transfers from Bureau of Indian Affairs schools might account for a fractional portion of the loss, the major cause is simply early dropout.

No all-inclusive reasons for the startling dropout among elementary school youngsters can be given, although two factors which operate in these schools and contribute to the problem might be considered briefly. Class size, especially in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, has risen

TABLE 3[*]

ENROLLMENT BY GRADES AND YEARS IN BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS SCHOOLS FOR THE PERIOD 1955–1962

YEAR	K	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	FIVE	SIX	SEVEN	EIGHT	LOSS
1955	484	802	684	622	499	364	309	249	208	
1956	563	702	642	557	506	367	303	260	241	-4%
1957	497	712	597	613	496	398	294	213	228	-26%
1958	589	585	609	610	580	489	367	258	220	-40%
1959	656	726	593	595	582	509	417	293	244	-51%
1960	656	798	627	598	558	521	417	331	257	-59%
1961	735	757	688	625	583	503	511	372	257	-62%
1962	642	774	733	708	620	530	458	362	255	-68%

[*] William D. Overstreet, "A Study of Elementary School Dropouts Among the Native Population of Alaska for the Period 1955–1962" (Juneau, Alaska: Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1962), p. 8. (Typed.)

with the expanding enrollments until commonly over forty children can be found in one classroom. As Overstreet stated while exploring the problem of elementary school dropouts in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools:

> When a teacher has over forty students in her classroom, can you really believe that she is going to cry if one of them stops coming to school? Teachers are human beings, also, you know![1]

With the inevitable situation in rural schools of having children who are in different grades in one classroom, the matter of large classes compounds the instructional difficulties faced by the already overburdened teacher.

Inconsistent and unrealistic promotion practices also encourage dropout. In a study of 760 elementary school dropouts, Overstreet discovered that 49 per cent of these students had been retarded five or more years and that only 1 per cent were at normal age-grade placement. Seven per cent were nine or more years retarded, although it should be explained that some of these children had been without school facilities for a number of years.[2]

The major reasons for teachers' resorting to nonpromotion to the degree practiced can .e categorized into two areas. With the shortage of secondary school facilities and the lack of motivation for education beyond the elementary school level, many teachers reason that the child's entire schooling will take place in the village school. If, it is argued, the child is promoted a grade each year, he will be out of school and through the eighth grade at thirteen or fourteen years of age. Isn't it better, therefore, to retain him in the grades until he is older?

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[1] Conversation with William Overstreet, July 10, 1962.

[2] Ibid.

A second, and perhaps more overriding, reason for non-promotion is the unrealistic comparison of native groups with standardized norms--norms developed for a population far different from the Alaskan students to whom they are applied. In both Bureau of Indian Affairs Schools and those operated by the state, the primary basis for promotion, as determined in an earlier study, was academic achievement based on standards developed for the common public school.[1] That such a practice is questionable can be repeatedly stated, but only when the teachers develop a deeper understanding of the cultural backgrounds and values of the students they teach can noticeable changes in present procedures be anticipated. However, as Reissman indicates:

> It is easy to say that we must understand the culture of the underprivileged. Most people would agree. The question is, what do we mean by a cultural approach? . . . We conceive the latter . . . (a cultural approach) to be the methods that have evolved for coping with conditions of life. Thus, "culture" would include the traditions, values, and mores of a specific group, many of which have a long history. Values and attitudes of the underprivileged that are relevant for the educator

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[1] Ray, *op*. *cit*., p. 223.

would include beliefs about punishment, authority, games, cooperation, competition, introspection, intellectuals, etc.[1]

To aid in the understanding of the Alaskan native students, therefore, cultural values which are apt to be in conflict with those imposed by the modern school are described, forming a backdrop for the more detailed studies of the dropout students themselves, their parents, and their problems.

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[1] Reissman, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

CHAPTER II

ESKIMO AND INDIAN VALUES AND MOTIVATION FOR EDUCATION IN THREE SELECTED ALASKAN VILLAGES[1]

In studying existing value systems as they relate to the motivation of students either to continue or to terminate their education, approximately one month was spent in each of three Alaskan villages. Two of these were Eskimo communities and the third a Tlingit Indian village in the southeastern part of the state. The first village visited was Alakanuk, a small Eskimo community of approximately three hundred people, located eight miles from the mouth of the Yukon River. In spite of a few social changes that have occurred there recently, this village is an example of a relatively unacculturated Eskimo population in the Kuskokwim-Yukon area, where contact with whites has been minimal. From there, I proceeded to Kotzebue, a northern Eskimo village on the Arctic coast. The population of twelve hundred inhabitants included approximately two hundred Caucasians with varying degrees of "mixed" ancestry. Kotzebue represents an Eskimo village in transition; because of its long history of culture-contact, the processes of acculturation are relatively advanced there. The last community studied was Hoonah, a Tlingit Indian fishing village of slightly less than seven hundred people. Aside from the considerable differences between the traditional culture of the Eskimos and the Tlingits, the latter have had an extensive and intimate contact with white civilization and, of the three villages, are furthest along the acculturation continuum. Many of the residents of Hoonah have completed high school and have lived and worked in white communities, both in Alaska and in the states to the south. Although no claim is made that these villages are typical of all communities in the larger area in which they are located, they do embody some of the outstanding characteristics and trends in these areas and represent three progressive stages of acculturation. Figuratively speaking, the population of Alakanuk lives in an essentially Eskimo world, with only a minimal admixture of white values and orientations. The residents of

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[1] This chapter was written by Seymour Parker, Assistant Professor of Cultural Anthropology, Jefferson Medical College.

Kotzebue live uneasily between the white and Eskimo worlds, with one foot in each. This is true to a lesser extent in Hoonah, where the younger people, in particular, have internalized the values of American society to a significant degree. In addition, the many sharp contrasts between the Eskimo and Tlingit value systems and societies provide a basis for understanding the dynamics of the relationship between cultural values and motivation for schooling.

Before proceeding further, it would be well to explain the rationale underlying a study of values and educational motivation, and some of the concepts employed. Many previous studies of school dropouts have relied almost completely on the verbal responses of former students themselves for an understanding of the reasons for terminating school prior to graduation. Although the specific reason given by the former student himself is crucially important in such an investigation, it frequently represents merely the precipitating factor in a whole series of operative causes contributing to his final decision to leave school. Studies in the psychology of motivation indicate that the precipitating cause of overt behavior represents a shift in the balance of a complex set of factors. Behind any decision lies a configuration of positive and negative forces. A choice is made by a sort of mental calculus in which the individual weighs both the perceived positive and negative consequences that adhere to it. The fact that the native dropout tells us that he left school because of difficulty at home or because he disliked certain aspects of school discipline is relevant and important data. However, it is pertinent to ask whether his decision would have been the same if his parents had exerted pressure on him to continue or if he had been reasonably certain that his education would enhance his socio-economic status. Such factors as these, which condition a decision to remain in, or to terminate, schooling, may or may not be within the individual's conscious awareness; in any case, they are not frequently verbalized in a survey type of response. The problems are multiplied when the respondents are members of a cultural group different from that of the investigator. It is dangerous to assume background values and goals that are associated with white middle-class society. Research findings indicate that values about school, and the motivation to continue school, are closely associated with the sub-cultural differences among the various class strata in our own society.[1] The literature on this subject, pertaining to peoples in underdeveloped areas of the world, is rather scant. There is a need for a better understanding of how cultural differences between teacher and student affect the learning situation, of how children with different early socialization experiences respond to the Western type of school curriculum, and of how the school is perceived in situations of culture-contact.

This is an appropriate point to discuss briefly the concept of "values" and its relationship to the actual choices that people make. Kluckhohn defines values as:

> . . . a code or a standard which has some persistence through time, or more broadly put, which organizes a system of action. Value, conveniently

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[1] Allison Davis, Social-Class Influences upon Learning (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948).

> and in accordance with recent usage, places things, acts, ways of behaving, goals of action on the approval-disapproval continuum.[1]

In daily living, values enable one to place, in order of importance, his manifold goals and means of achieving them. Without a system of values, an individual would be incapable of choosing between, or giving priority to, alternative courses of action. Occasionally, an individual can readily verbalize the values that underlie his behavior. Very frequently, however, such values are implicit and cannot be easily verbalized. Even if we are successful in learning about an individual's values, it is still very difficult to predict, with any accuracy, his behavior in any concrete situation. Values tell us what an individual or group feels to be desirable. This may or may not correspond to his actual desires when faced with a real choice. It is the frequent discrepancy between the desirable and the desired that makes it important to go beyond the discussion of values potentially related to education and to probe also into the additional societal factors that influence the inhabitants of these villages to secure an education for themselves or for their children.

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[1] Clyde Kluckhohn *et al*., "Values and Value Orientation in the Theory of Action," *Toward a General Theory of Action*, T. Parsons and E. A. Shils, editors (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 395.

It is important to understand the sources of the discrepancy between values and actual behavior, since this is so frequently a source of misunderstanding and mistrust, especially in cross-cultural situations. On numerous occasions, I have been told by teachers, clergymen, and people in public health, who have worked with native populations, that "you can't believe what these people tell you." For example, some teachers remarked that although natives often verbalize a desire to have their children educated they do this "in order to tell you what they think you want to hear," or that "they really don't mean what they say." Their assumption is that natives often verbalize such values because they want to please and that the desire has no real motivational force (i.e., "just words"), or that they are merely lying. Such assumptions are made in the attempt to explain the frequently annoying apparent contradiction between the stated values of many Eskimos and Indians and their behavior regarding the pursuit of an education. Although occasionally some of the above assumptions are true, the reasons underlying this apparent contradiction are usually more complex.

In deciding upon a course of action in real life, conflicting values are frequently operative. Studies of the educational careers of adolescents in our own society indicate a frequent conflict between a value placed on continuing education versus becoming economically independent. Although the individual may decide to "go out and get a job" instead of continuing his schooling, this does not mean that he places no value on education. Such a decision may be accompanied by serious misgivings and regrets. In addition, for values to be translated into appropriate behavior, certain information and knowledge is required. A parent may place a high value on vocational advancement for his children; however, education will not be pursued as a vehicle for such attainment unless the parent is aware of the nature of education and how it will serve to implement his aspirations for his children. While this knowledge is assumed for educated middle-class people in Western society, it is much more dubious for a considerable portion of the Eskimo and Indian population. For many people in these groups, the more traditional means of status advancement may still be operative and may serve to channel efforts to implement this value. Finally, values will or will not be translated into concrete social behavior depending upon the extent to which the society rewards, or in some cases punishes, strivings for education. In a study of educational motivation in Puerto Rico, it was found that the importance an individual attached to education depended upon his perception of education as a means to maintain his status or to improve it.[1] The importance attached to the pursuit of education can only be understood if we are aware of the nature of the society under consideration and how education is related to

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[1] Melvin Tumin and Arnold S. Feldman, "Status, Perspective, and Achievement: Education and Class Structure in Puerto Rico," American Sociological Review, XXI (August, 1956), 464-72.

status, prestige, and the people's perceptions of their futures. Ruth Benedict had this in mind when she observed that, "If men can supply their needs of livelihood and gain prestige among their fellows without adding to their skills or knowledge, they early reach a mental plateau."[1] What is often interpreted as lack of intellectual capacity or lack of "drive to improve" is related to the society in which it operates. Among the lower socio-economic segments in our own society, the individual who is highly motivated to be educated may sometimes be subject to punishment from his own social group.[2] Education, in its broader sense, is an integral part of culture and serves to prepare the growing individual for the various social and economic roles that he will assume as a member of his society. The learning experience in any society not only inculcates values and motivation appropriate to the needs of the group, but also helps to develop the necessary personality traits and skills. Because "education" in our society is so commonly regarded as being the specialized function of the school, we frequently fail to see its relationship to culture as a whole. Margaret Mead speaks of education as:

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[1] Ruth Benedict, "Transmitting Our Democratic Heritage in the Schools," American Journal of Sociology, XLVIII (May, 1943), pp. 722-27.

[2] Wilbur B. Brookover, A Sociology of Education (New York: American Book Company, 1955), p. 95.

> . . . that process by which the growing individual is inducted into his cultural inheritance, not of those specific ways in which the complex techniques of modern life are imparted to children arranged in serried ranks within the schoolroom . . . this strictly professionalized education is a modern development, the end result of the invention of writing and division of labor. . . .[1]

This inclusive view of education pervades the writings of anthropologists who have concerned themselves with the relationship of education and society. Studies of our own society have shown that the early socialization experiences of the middle-class child help to develop traits that enable him to cope with the requirements of the school

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[1] Margaret Mead, New Lives for Old (New York: Mentor Books, 1961), p. 133.

regimen. This is not as true of the child reared in the milieu of the lower socio-economic segments of our society.[1] Achievement motivation, future time orientation, and ability to delay immediate gratification are among the factors found to differentiate children of different social strata. The superior performance and greater propensity to pursue higher education among American middle-class children are undoubtedly factors related partly to early socialization experiences. Frequently, such factors are ignored or underestimated, both by laymen and educators, and differences in motivation and performance of children in different socio-economic strata or racial groups are assumed to be related to differences in innate intellectual capacities. The evidence to date does not support such an assumption.[2]

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[1] Davis, Social-Class Influences upon Learning; Allison Davis, "Socialization and Adolescent Personality," Readings in Social Psychology, T. M. Newcomb and E. L. Hartley, editors (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1947), pp. 139-50.

[2] Otto Klineberg, Race Differences (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1935) pp. 182-89.

If such differences in motivation and performance exist in different sub-cultural groups in our own society, they are even more marked among the Eskimo and Indian populations of Alaska, who are being increasingly exposed to "Western" education. The indigenous educational systems of these people have managed very well to produce individuals with the skills and motivation to "fit" the needs of their traditional society, and have prepared them to perpetuate their culture. Quite clearly, their traditional world is vastly different from that for which our school system prepares its children. Native children attending our schools are the recipients of two different educational systems. In the course of discussing the values and motivation of natives in three villages in Alaska, it is hoped that we will arrive at a deeper understanding and appreciation of how these diverse educational systems either coincide or conflict. Such an understanding may facilitate the attempts of teachers and educational administrators to guide young native students in their precarious journey between two worlds.

During these short field visits to the three villages in June-August, 1961, no attempt was made to carry out comprehensive community studies. The purpose of the three, rather brief, descriptions is to present the context of the areas in which the value study was conducted.

ALAKANUK

The Community

The village of Alakanuk is located on the south fork of the lower Yukon River, about fifteen miles from the Bering Sea. About ten miles up-river lies the neighboring community of Kwiguk, which is approximately the same size. Alakanuk is set back slightly from the river on a slough from which its name is taken. Most of the surrounding area is flat alluvial plain with sparse vegetation. Climatically, the region is considered typically sub-arctic, with a maximum winter temperature of forty degrees below zero and a summer average of fifty to sixty degrees. The main part of the village extends a half-mile along the bank of the Yukon and consists of approximately sixty structures;

there are about ten houses and a trading post on the opposite shore. The trading post and these recently-built homes were located across the river from the village because of the prevailing belief that the shore of the village is rapidly eroding and will soon leave only a narrow strip of land. A small salmon cannery is located at one end of the community. Adjacent to it are the post office and that part of the slough used by the mail planes for landing. Three school buildings, including two residences for teachers, are built at the other end of the village. The small Catholic church lies about fifty yards from the bank of the river; close to it is the kashgi, or ceremonial house, which is a circular structure of logs and sod. Another fairly sizeable structure is the recently-constructed National Guard Building, in which drills are held during the winter months.

For the most part, the homes are small, primitively-built, one- or occasionally two-room structures, housing one nuclear family and perhaps one or more tangent relatives. However, in a few cases, two brothers and their families may live together, or parents may reside with married children and their families. Most of the houses are built of heavy driftwood and commercially cut logs that float down the river. Some of the villagers have packed mud between the logs for insulation purposes. Some of the more recently-built homes consist partly of aluminum. Although no definite arrangement of the living quarters is obvious, there is a tendency for brothers to build their homes adjacently. Outhouses are relatively rare, and a "honey-bucket" in the room is used for toilet purposes. These are emptied behind the houses, providing a rich source of infection and disease. Cooking is done mainly on converted gasoline drums laid end to end and flattened on top to provide a cooking surface. Food is frequently prepared on the floor of the house.

The village consists of 278 individuals,[1] most of whom are "full-blooded" Yupik-speaking Eskimos. According to the Bureau of Indian Affairs school census of 1960, there are only nine residents of "mixed blood" and two permanent white residents.[1] In addition, two white school teachers and their families reside in Alakanuk, and a white cannery operator who is there only during the summer months. This population data reflects the fact that the natives in the Yukon area have been relatively isolated from contact with the white population in Alaska, until recently.[2] Contact with whalers was rare, and the early Russian missionary activities were located too far up-river to have more than a slight influence on the local population. The first significant mission activity in the area was undertaken by the Catholics at the turn of the century. No Protestant missions have ever been established in or near the village. Miners in search of gold and the solace of Eskimo women never penetrated the lower regions of the Yukon in any significant numbers. Large scale cannery operations and construction projects employing white men were, for the most part, not found as extensively in the Yukon area as in many other sections of Alaska.

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[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Number of Inhabitants, Alaska. Final Report PC (1) - 3A (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1960), p. 10.

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[1] The Catholic priest and the retired postmaster of the village.

[2] Kaj Birket-Smith, The Eskimo (revised edition; London: Methen & Company, Ltd., 1959), pp. 220-21.

Transportation to Alakanuk is rather poor; mail planes are scheduled to Alakanuk from Bethel a few times a week. Freight coming by ship on the Bering Sea must be transshipped to barges which serve the Yukon. Similarly, freight down-river from Fairbanks necessitates a series of carriers.

In recent years, the population of Alakanuk has been increasing at a very rapid rate, as indicated by a comparison of the current population (278 individuals) with the population in 1950 (140 individuals) and in 1938 (only sixty-one individuals). Two factors account for this rapid population growth: the location of a small salmon cannery in the village about twenty years ago, and the opening of a Bureau of Indian Affairs elementary school in 1959. The opportunity to acquire a cash income for a few weeks during the year and the desire to send children to school have attracted families from the neighboring, smaller Eskimo villages. Old residents of the community estimate that at the turn of the century there were thirty to fifty people living in the village.

Economic subsistence patterns. Economic pursuits in Alakanuk are organized around three major activities: fishing, hunting, and wage labor in the cannery for six to eight weeks of the summer. In the Bureau of Indian Affairs census for 1960, only four village residents listed occupations other than "fishing and hunting."[1] These occupations were storekeeper, postmaster and agent for the airlines, cannery foreman, and school janitor; but even these individuals supplement their incomes by some fishing and hunting. Thus, economic life in Alakanuk overwhelmingly consists of fishing either for personal use or for sale to the cannery and hunting for meat and for pelts that are sold at the local trading post. Aside from the introduction of some wage labor for a few weeks out of the year, the cycle of subsistence activities for these people is not radically different from that of the past. The operation of the cannery during the salmon run "fits" into the pattern of traditional activities, but, in addition, it provides opportunities for small cash earnings through wage labor and a cash market for the sale of fish.

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[1] This does not include the priest and two school teachers. The cannery operator, an accountant, and a mechanic reside in the village only during the summer.

During the height of the salmon season in June, and in the beginning of July, there is employment for almost the entire adult population. There are about 120 employees working in the cannery, and the remainder of the able-bodied male population, fifteen years of age and older, fishes and sells its catches to the cannery. Wages in the cannery for the six-week period vary considerably since some of the employees are disabled, aged, or young and inexperienced boys and girls. Marginal workers may earn two to four hundred dollars for this period, while able-bodied males may earn up to a thousand dollars. It is interesting that all of the cannery employees are paid in a "lump sum" at the end of the season and do not know the exact sum of money they will receive until they are paid. Fishermen who use company equipment (nets, tents, and fuel for their boats) receive two and a half dollars for each fish they catch; others, who operate independently, are paid three dollars per fish. During the six weeks of a normally good season, a fisherman may earn one to two thousand dollars. After the commercial fishing season is over, most of the men are occupied in fishing for personal use. The waters in the region are rich in salmon, pike, cod, whitefish, blackfish, and other species. These are consumed fresh or are processed by smoking, drying, or freezing, and then utilized for the lean months of winter and early spring.

The hunting and trapping season begins at the end of summer and extends through autumn. Small mammals such as mink, rat, and otter are found in the area and provide families with some meat, fur for clothing and for other household uses, and pelts which are sold locally and furnish the family with a small additional income. Ptarmigan, ducks, and other birds abound in this vicinity and are hunted during the autumn. Aside from processing food for storage during the fall, women are usually busy gathering various types of berries and a few greens. When the freeze-up begins in late autumn, economic activities slow considerably. Some fox are trapped, and an occasional seal is caught, but, in general, resources are very meager during this period, and people depend heavily on food that they may have stored, on credit from the local trading posts, and on relief checks coming into the village. Approximately 30-40 per cent of the families in Alakanuk obtain some form of government welfare income during the year. Many of these families depend heavily on this income to maintain themselves at the subsistence level. However, in general, villagers contrast the relative plenty of the present with the traditional marginal existence, and even severe periods of starvation, of the not-too-distant past. Old-timers and middle-aged adults frequently tell stories of hunger in their childhoods, before the advent of the cannery, government welfare programs, and modern means of securing food (i.e., guns, motorboats, commercial nets, etc.).

In the winter, one of the major economic activities is finding wood to heat the houses. Since trees are rather scarce in the district, this search for wood often necessitates trips with dog sleds. As part of their household chores, young boys and girls are required to help in the collection of firewood. Some families who are more provident than the rest begin to collect and store wood that drifts down the river during the summer and autumn. A few informants observed that most of their fellow villagers failed to make such provisions for the cold months and seemed to be concerned with the matter only when the winter had already arrived. Although some hunting and trapping continues during this period, the catch is meager, and families depend mainly on their caches of dried fish and on food purchased in the trading post. Those who can afford it also purchase reindeer meat from a trading post further up the river. Aside from their usual household chores, women sew and repair clothes during these months. There appears to be increasing reliance on Western clothing purchased locally or through the Sears-Roebuck catalog. In addition to the growing preference for "store-bought" items, wage labor in the cannery and commercial fishing during the summer leaves less time to make the traditional clothes or to process and store "Eskimo" food in the traditional manner.

Another small source of income during the winter is payment for National Guard duties in the village and the two-week annual encampment at Anchorage. Since local men very rarely seek or accept jobs in any of the larger towns and cities in Alaska, the two-week period in Anchorage often represents the only visit to a non-Eskimo community during the year. Although, as noted above, the standard of living has probably been raised, compared to that of the past, most villagers live "from year to year," and during the winter months they build up bills that may be just barely covered by their earnings in the coming year. Even now, however, some people must be "carried" for long periods by the store or must be helped out by the community during the lean months.

In the spring, hunting and trapping begin once again, and equipment must be repaired and readied for use. Nets are sewed, guns put into working condition, and motors repaired. Men are frequently busy building or fixing racks for drying and smoking the fish that will be caught in the coming season. In recent years, a considerable change has taken place in migration habits, necessitated by the pursuit of a livelihood. Until a few years ago, most of the families in the village would migrate out to hunting and fishing camps during the autumn and spring seasons. Many of them remained away for more than six months out of the year. Today, with the advent of the cannery and, more recently, the school, such activities have become increasingly rare. Even now, however, most of the men and older boys do go out to a camp in the autumn, but they do not usually remain away from their families for long periods. This exodus is repeated in the spring and, in some cases, all through the summer season.

Social organization. It appears that co-operative efforts in the past were found mainly among blood kin. It was not uncommon for two nuclear families to live in one dwelling or in adjacent houses. Brothers frequently shared their equipment and hunted and fished co-operatively. Many of the co-operative activities were centered around the kashgi. Especially during the winter months, men would eat their meals in this ceremonial house, and many even slept there. During the day, it was used as a bathhouse and as a place to repair various types of equipment. At night, dances and other ceremonials were held there. Although the kashgi still exists and is important in village life, many of its previous functions have disappeared. Men neither eat nor sleep in the kashgi today, and it is no longer a place where co-operative labor is carried on nor a center for sharing resources. It is still used as a bathhouse, however, and for dances held a few times each week during the winter months. These gatherings are well attended by most people in the community. Feasts and parties are also frequently held in the kashgi on such occasions as holidays, birthdays, or celebration of a male child's first successful hunt. On these occasions there is still considerable sharing and giving away of food and other useful items such as cloth, fur, and even hunting or fishing gear. Although declining in importance, the practice of exchanging invitations for feasts with the neighboring village of Kwiguk still exists.

Although households now usually consist of one nuclear family, brothers or other relatives who live next to each other sometimes use the same dog team and equipment. Outboard motorboats are not owned in common.

A number of related males usually share one house during the spring and autumn camping trips. This practice, too, encourages sharing of resources and some co-operative work patterns. In general, however, there is a tendency for an individual household to be economically self-sufficient and to function independently. Government relief has accentuated this trend.

As is usual in Eskimo villages, formal social organization is not extensive in Alakanuk. There were never formally-appointed chiefs nor a clan structure. Previously, social control mechanisms were effectuated by gossip and the force of public opinion. Usually, an old man or shaman would be consulted when problems arose, and his opinions would carry considerable weight. Today, an elected council of five men[1] is responsible for making certain rules and regulations and for fining individuals who do not conform. Examples of such regulations are the rule against drinking outside and creating a disturbance, and the curfew that does not allow school children to attend late dances during the week. Actually, the council's power to enforce these regulations depends upon the state policeman who visits the village occasionally. However, one or two of the old men in the village are regularly consulted in the more traditional areas of conflict, such as arguments between families or differences of opinion concerning the division of food resources, etc. The villagers feel that the immigration of so many new families in recent years has weakened the force of public opinion and gossip as a means of reducing deviant behavior.

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[1] Women are not permitted to serve as council members, nor are they even allowed to vote for the latter. This reflects the relatively low status of women in this community.

The characteristics of the elected members of the council indicate something about the valued leadership qualities in the community. Although the average educational attainment of the five members of the council is slightly above the average, none of the members ever reached high school, or even the last grade of elementary school. The average school attainment of the councilmen is only fifth grade. They are all middle-aged men and, except for one, are considered to be good hunters and fishermen. The one exception is the manager of the trading post who is able to do simple arithmetic and is competent in the use of English. This serves him well in helping individuals with government welfare matters and in ordering merchandise from catalogs. Another council member is the foreman of the salmon cannery, but he is also considered to be a very skilled hunter and fisherman. Two individuals who exercise important leadership functions in the community are the cannery owner, who used to live in the community all year, and the Catholic priest, who has been living in Alakanuk for about twenty-three years. The priest has recently been elected Representative to the State Legislature. Both of these men provide important liaison functions with the outside world and are highly respected and well liked by the villagers. Aside from his religious duties, the priest performs many secular functions for the people, such as writing and translating letters and helping with tax problems and applications for government relief.

Recreational patterns in the village are still dominated by traditional activities. The men and young boys anticipate their trips to the hunting camps with great enthusiasm. These trips away from the village provide an opportunity for friendly competition and camaraderie. As noted above, the kashgi is still used by the men as a bathhouse and as a center for gossip and the exchange of stories. Eskimo dancing is still popular, although fewer of the youngsters are able to cope with the intricate steps. After the summer activities are over, Western dances and movies take place sporadically. The most important recreational activities are the frequent house visits between neighbors and the parties that are held in the kashgi. Although many of the villagers speak about the increase in drinking in the community, my own observation indicates that there is far less drinking in Alakanuk than in other communities I have visited.

Schooling and education. The Catholic Mission on the Yukon first organized a mission boarding school in a neighboring town soon after the turn of the century. This was the only school in the entire area, and its emphasis was religious rather than secular. For the most part, the few students who boarded there were orphans, and they were seldom educated beyond the first few grades of elementary school. This institution gradually grew into the present St. Mary's Mission School. There were no school facilities in Alakanuk itself, and very few people attended any school outside of the community. About 1955, St. Mary's initiated a high school program, but this still attracted very few Alakanuk residents.

After World War II, a few children from Alakanuk began to attend the Bureau of Indian Affairs elementary school at Wrangell. However, neither parents nor children were pleased at the prospect of the children leaving home for a long period. Also, involved in sending children away to school were costs that the villagers could ill afford. For these reasons, most of those who did attend the school at Wrangell went sporadically and seldom progressed beyond the first few grades.

The first school facility in Alakanuk came through the efforts of a Catholic priest in the early 1950's. With the aid of the villagers, who were anxious to send their children to a local school, he succeeded in building a small school. It was staffed by an Eskimo teacher, and its emphasis was largely religious. After a year or two of operation, the school was washed away by a flood, and it was never rebuilt. In 1955, the local cannery operator offered the Bureau of Indian Affairs the use of one of his buildings as a schoolhouse if the Bureau would provide a teacher. This makeshift schoolhouse functioned for about one year and then closed because of a disagreement between the cannery operator and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. After the closing of the temporary school, the village council petitioned the Bureau of Indian Affairs in an attempt to obtain another school for Alakanuk. The request was granted, and a new school opened in the autumn of 1960.

What is the current picture of educational achievement in Alakanuk? The 1960 Bureau of Indian Affairs village census provides some interesting data in this regard. Tables 4 and 5 indicate the extremely low educational attainment of the villagers. The average grade attainment of residents forty years of age and over is one and nine-tenths grades. Those in the younger adult group, twenty to thirty-nine, reached an average of three and one-tenth grades. Although the figures are not conclusive, it is noteworthy that in both age groups, the attainment of the females exceeds that of the males.

TABLE 4

EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF ADULTS (AGES FORTY AND OVER) BY SEX ALAKANUK, 1960

HIGHEST GRADE ATTAINED	MALES	FEMALES
0	13 (55%)	8 (40%)
1-2	3 (12%)	5 (25%)
3-4	4 (17%)	1 (5%)
5-6	2 (8%)	4 (20%)
7-8	2 (8%)	0 (0%)
9 and over	0 (0%)	2 (10%)
TOTAL	24 (100%)	20 (100%)

TABLE 5

EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF ADULTS (AGES TWENTY TO THIRTY-NINE) BY SEX ALAKANUK, 1960

HIGHEST GRADE ATTAINED	MALES	FEMALES
0	13 (26%)	8 (21%)
1-2	14 (28%)	6 (15%)
3-4	15 (30%)	11 (28%)
5-6	6 (12%)	6 (15%)
7-8	2 (4%)	5 (13%)
9 and over	0 (0%)	3 (8%)
TOTAL	50 (100%)	39 (100%)

The increase in educational attainment in the younger generation is demonstrated by the achievement of those in the age group thirteen to nineteen years of age (Table 6). When the relative attainment of this youngest group is considered, it appears that educational achievement increases progressively in the younger generations. The tendency for females to achieve more than males is also supported by the data in Table 6. In spite of progressive increases in educational attainment in the village, the sporadic nature of school attendance, even among children presently in school, is demonstrated by the grade retardation[1] of children seven to sixteen years old. The average number of grades retarded for the group as a whole is three and two-tenths. Furthermore, it was found that boys are over a half-year more retarded than girls are. The meaning of these consistent sex differences in educational achievement will be discussed in the next section.

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[1] Grade retardation is calculated on the assumption that a child enters the first grade when six years old.

TABLE 6

EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT (AGES THIRTEEN TO NINETEEN) BY SEX ALAKANUK, 1960

HIGHEST GRADE ATTAINED	MALES	FEMALES
0	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
1-2	3 (17%)	2 (8%)
3-4	4 (22%)	4 (16%)
5-6	4 (22%)	12 (45%)
7-8	5 (28%)	8 (31%)
9 and over	2 (11%)	0 (0%)*
TOTAL	18 (100%)	26 (100%)

*The census data is incorrect here; there were two girls (8%) attending high school at this time.

The question of the relationship between the educational achievement of the parent and that of his children arises at this point. Is educational achievement randomly distributed among the younger group, or do children whose parents have had a greater amount of schooling also tend to achieve more? The findings in Table 7 indicate that the children of parents who have reached the second or third grade show greater achievement than do children whose parents did not reach this level. However, above the third grade, a direct relationship between a parent's grade attainment and that of his children ceases to exist. Evidently, whatever parental influences are operative in this situation are effective only up to the third grade. There is little doubt that the absence of a school in the village could have partly accounted for the low educational achievement of the inhabitants. However, the availability of the St. Mary's Mission School and the Bureau of Indian Affairs school at Wrangell indicates that there are other factors present to account for this relatively low motivation for schooling.

Motivation Related to Educational Achievement in Alakanuk

In this section, an attempt will be made to

TABLE 7

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF PARENTS* AND THEIR CHILDREN - AGE FIFTEEN AND OVER

EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF CHILDREN	EDUCATION OF PARENTS BY GRADE		
	0-1	2-3	4-6
Grade 0-2	7 (25%)	2 (14%)	3 (21%)
Grade 3-5	17 (61%)	4 (28%)	3 (21%)
Grade 6-7	4 (14%)	6 (43%)	6 (43%)
Grade 8 and over	9 (0%)	2 (14%)	2 (14%)
TOTAL	28 (100%)	14 (100%)	14 (100%)

***Educational achievement of parents was derived by averaging the highest grade reached by both parents. Where only one parent was present, his (her) grade attainment was used.**

understand how aspects of social and economic life in Alakanuk affect the motivation for educational achievement. In making a cross-cultural study of motivation and values, it is sometimes possible to "miss the forest for the trees." Some of the more obvious, and perhaps culturally universal, factors may be lost or clouded by outstanding cultural differences and idiosyncrasies. At the cost of belaboring the obvious, let us assume that the dominant values and concerns of people in all societies revolve around biological survival and economic means available to insure this survival. This is just as true of the dominant American society as it is among the Eskimos of Alakanuk.

In a national poll, Roper found that by far the most outstanding motivation for pursuing higher education in our culture was to obtain a better job or profession and to increase one's earning power. If the curriculum taught in the schools does not have a realistic function in the student's society (i.e., is not geared to his future economic potential), it is likely that there will be little motivation to endure the sacrifices associated with the pursuit of an education.[1] This point has emerged time and again in studies of underprivileged groups in our own society,[2] and in underdeveloped areas of the world.[3]

In Alakanuk, we find that, except for one or two individuals, the entire village depends on hunting and fishing for its livelihood. The small cannery operating for about two months out of the year provides the villagers with unskilled jobs and no opportunities for advancement in an occupational hierarchy. Even within the larger Kuskokwim-Yukon area, there are extremely few economic developments that could utilize any of the skills associated with schooling. Many informants of varying ages emphasized that the education to which they had been exposed in the schools was of no help to them in their eventual pursuit of a livelihood; consequently, they saw little reason to continue school beyond the early elementary grades. As yet, in the local community or in the surrounding area, there is little or no opportunity to better one's economic status through education. The low level of educational attainment shown in the 1960 Bureau of Indian Affairs census reflected this lack of interest in higher education. In addition, it was seen that beyond the third grade there was no correlation between the educational attainment of parents and that of their children.

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[1] Elmo Roper, "Higher Education: The Fortune Survey," Supplement to Fortune Magazine, September, 1949, p. 6.

[2] Hortense Powdermaker, After Freedom (New York: Viking Press, 1939), p. 210.

[3] Bronislaw Malinowski, "The Pan-African Problem of Culture Contact," American Journal of Sociology, XLVIII (May, 1943), 649-65.

Why should a correlation even exist at the early school grade levels? This correlation indicates something about the perception and function of education in the village. Education is seen merely as a way of carrying on simple dealings and transactions with the "white" world. In the Alakanuk scheme of things, it is considered important to have a minimal education in order to communicate with the government about welfare, social security, and tax matters, to enable one to purchase items from mail order catalogs, and to communicate with the occasional white visitors to the community. With very few exceptions, parents can see no advantage in urging their children to acquire more than the elementary skills necessary to carry on the above activities. Many parents in the village noted that children who went beyond the first few grades did not learn skills associated with earning a living in the community. In fact, a few complained that children who received "too much education" were sometimes not very motivated to engage in traditional activities. However, because of the low level of education in the village, the latter opinion was not widespread.

Another indication that education is not essentially geared to the occupational pursuits of Alakanuk residents is seen in the relative achievement of males and females. If education were viewed as a means of occupational and economic advancement, it seems likely that men would be motivated to achieve more than women would. However, the reverse is true. The reasons for this phenomenon emerged in discussions with adolescents in Alakanuk about this sex differential in education. Both young men and young women agreed that boys look forward to hunting and fishing, since these are enjoyable activities in themselves and carry prestige in the community. However, the girls indicated that they "have nothing to do" besides cooking and cleaning. One informant expressed his ideas on this matter as follows:

> I think that girls are more anxious to leave than the boys. They want to work in some other place, and they also think that they have a better chance of marrying someone who has more, if they leave here. A girl feels that there is nothing for her to do. A boy can go hunting and fishing with his friends, and it's exciting. He is part of things. The girl has nothing--she just stays home.

The relative lack of prestige associated with traditional female activities appears to be providing young women with a slightly higher level of motivation to secure an education. Although their goals are vague, girls (to a greater extent than boys) tend to think of education as a means of "seeing new places," "learning things," and "maybe getting some kind of wòrk."

The mode of gaining a livelihood in Alakanuk also partly explains the fact that the average retardation of school-age children is three and two-tenths grades. Parents frequently stay out in their camp until late in the autumn or leave the village in the early spring. As a result, the child often misses an entire semester of school or falls behind in his work and cannot advance normally. Even families who remain in the village occasionally keep children at home if their help is needed with economic activities or in the household. The majority of parents with whom I discussed this matter did not express great concern about their children's retardation in school. Their assumption was that the child would not advance to the higher grades in any case, and so the loss of a grade or two was of no great importance.

This pattern of interrupted schooling and the consequent high level of school retardation has important implications for the pursuit of education by young people. First of all, the pattern of sporadic and interrupted attendance means an additional burden of difficulty for the student who encounters schoolwork for which he lacks sufficient background. This, coupled with the existing linguistic difficulties (English is seldom spoken in any of the homes in Alakanuk), frequently discourages him from continuing with his education. The high level of school retardation also means that students are still attending elementary school in their middle, or even late, teens. In traditional Eskimo society, a young man or woman of this age was already a contributing member of society. I spoke to a number of students in this age group who felt that they were "too old" to go to school.

They indicated a certain amount of shame that at such a "late age" they were not contributing to the family income or aiding with household chores. A few students related that they felt embarrassed to be attending class with students who were as much as four or five years their juniors. Thus, the economic activities of the village not only fail to engender positive motivation to pursue education, but also discourage normal school progress.

Prestige factors are invariably related to the economic activities in a community. Although not all valued societal roles are involved in economic production, in order for a society to survive and to perpetuate itself, individuals who excel in the various economic techniques must be given social prestige. Aside from biological survival, men are motivated to strive for the approval and respect of their fellows. How is education related to prestige in Alakanuk? What sort of people are admired and given prestige in this community? Obviously, if education in itself is valued, or if it can be used as a means to obtain a position of prestige, the motivation to pursue education will be greatly enhanced. The relative lack of exposure to education and to "Western" literature precludes the possibility that education and learning, in themselves, will be valued in this community. The nature of the economic system also minimizes the possibilities that education can lead to social roles that have high status. In traditional Eskimo society, the shamans, old men, and successful hunters were the major recipients of prestige. Today, there is no shaman in the village or in the immediate vicinity. It seems that old people no longer have the prestige they once held, but their opinions are still sought in cases of family conflict and various ritual matters connected with feasts; they also usually receive gifts and extra portions of food when the catch is good. There is a high degree of consensus in the village that the good hunter and fisherman is the one to be admired and respected. Although the position provides a relatively high and steady income, it was difficult to get anyone in the village to manage the local store because this job would prevent the individual from hunting and fishing. The present storekeeper told me how badly he felt in the autumn when he had to remain in the store and watch almost all the men leave the village for their hunting camps. The school janitor, who also has a steady "inside" job, said that he wanted his son to be a hunter and fisherman when he grew up. One of the reasons that a hunter is so highly regarded is that he is able to "give away" food.

> If a man is out hunting rabbits and he gets two dozen, and he knows that some widow would like to have some rabbit; he doesn't say anything and without any show he gives it to her. She doesn't thank him or say anything, but people know about it all the same. A man who does this is good--he does the right thing--he acts like an Eskimo.

For most adults cash income is important as a supplementary resource, but basically, a man's "real" work in life is hunting and fishing. When groups gather in the store or in the kashgi, the conversation revolves around these endeavors, and the outstanding hunters are recognized. However, a few of the younger adults are now beginning to see that having a steady job will be important for their children. Two of the younger men in the village council told me that they wanted their sons to have high school educations, but that they would also feel very proud of them if they became successful hunters.

The high prestige values associated with hunting and fishing are also held by the young boys in the village. A large majority of the adolescent boys to whom I spoke verbalized a desire to follow these traditional activities when they became adults. A fairly typical attitude toward hunting, expressed by a boy of fifteen, is as follows:

> You go out camping sometimes and have your buddies with you, and you see which [ones] catch lots of animals, and you talk about these things. It's what the older men do.

It was apparent that there was considerable consensus among the boys in the village about who were the outstanding hunters in their age group.

In spite of strong agreement about traditional values in this community, a discussion of this topic would be incomplete if it did not take into consideration new symbols of prestige that are slowly emerging in Alakanuk. The existence of cash income from work in the cannery has enabled a growing number of people to become acquainted with, and to enjoy, "Western" manufactured goods. Everyone in the community is aware that the four men who have "regular" jobs[1] have been able to purchase snowmobiles and superior outboard motors, ready-made clothes, and better furnishings for their homes; such things are highly valued by the villagers. It is significant that two of these men are members of the council and are considered village leaders, but that their educational attainment is no greater than that of their peers. Although both of them speak English, only one can read and write with any facility.

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[1] Foreman of the cannery, store manager, school janitor, and postmaster.

In the course of the interviews in Alakanuk, an attempt was made to gain some insight into how the residents perceive education. How do they see its value in their lives? It is possible to discuss this question by considering separately the attitudes of the older adults, the younger adults, and the adolescents. For the most part, the older adults had little or no idea of the content of the school curriculum, except that the end result was the ability to read and write. In their opinion, however, the advantages of being able to read and write were counterbalanced by disadvantages. The following is representative of this view:

> Lots of people say that when you put a child of six or seven in school and send him away, when he comes home, he is like a gussok [white man]. He doesn't even know how to put on his boots. You can't even let them go out alone in the winter to get wood with the dogs because he will freeze. He doesn't know how to take care of himself like an Eskimo does.

> People say he will fall in the water or his feet will freeze. We always said that a man should remain in the country where he is going to make his living.

Of course, it should be realized that until recently even the child who attended elementary school had to leave the area. Most of the older people spoke about the loss of traditional skills on the part of the young person and the family's loss of a potential breadwinner and helper.

Younger adults expressed more interest in having their children educated, but most felt that a grade school education would be enough.

> The younger [adult] people around here want their child to go to school. [Why?] To learn English so they can write for checks and read and speak to the white men. There are more white men coming around here, and some of the older people feel bad when they can't speak to them. Also, if you want to order things in the catalog, you have to read and write.

As mentioned before, most of the young parents in the village anticipated that their children would become hunters and fishermen. However, they were more aware than the older generations of the advantages of reading and writing. Only a minority expressed the desire to have their children seek "regular" jobs in larger centers where work would be available. For most of them, a high school education consisted almost solely of learning a trade such as carpentry or electrical work.

Younger people expressed a great deal of confusion and vacillation when speaking about their occupational and educational goals. This was shown by the fact that many of them would speak about their desires to get a "regular" job, and at a later point in the conversation they would note that they expected to live in Alakanuk when they were older and to follow the prevailing economic modes of earning a livelihood. Others spoke of working outside the village during part of the year and of returning to Alakanuk for the remainder of each season. Those expressing the desire to attend high school almost always gave as their reason the desire to obtain a job. However, when questioned in more detail about the types of jobs they wanted, about the educational or training prerequisites of the work, or about any of the conditions associated with the type of position sought, their answers indicated that they had little or no such information. In some cases, adolescents thought that college was required to become a carpenter or electrician, while two boys who had chosen professional goals (priest and physician) thought that a high school education would suffice. Most of the students who were nearing the termination of elementary school had no idea of the number of years required for the completion of high school. None of those verbalizing job aspirations had personal acquaintance with any individuals in those fields of endeavor. Role models and individuals who could provide guidance for the youth in Alakanuk regarding educational and occupational goals were almost totally absent.

In discussing educational and occupational aspirations with the young people of Alakanuk, I attempted to learn more about their perception of Eskimos as compared with whites. Such attitudes could have an important bearing on their referent values, i.e., the values used to judge one's own behavior and performance in various areas of life. Studies concerned with the process of acculturation among the Negroes and Navajo Indians indicate that those members of minority groups who have the most ambivalence about their own group frequently tend to seek status and mobility within the "white" world. Both Navajos and Negroes who had evaluated members of their own group negatively, relative to members of the dominant society, were more likely to seek education as a means of bolstering their feelings of self-esteem.[1] Such individuals may be regarded as "whiteward mobile."

I attempted to learn more about the extent to which the Eskimo in Alakanuk was in conflict about being an Eskimo and the extent to which he wanted to move up the status hierarchy in the white world. I found that, with rare exceptions, the Alakanuk population regarded the white world as rather powerful but inaccessible. In their comparisons of Eskimo and white men, most of the interviewees spoke only of the technological superiority of white civilization. They acknowledged that the white man had better tools and machinery than the Eskimo did and that Western civilization was more advanced in fields such as medicine. However, there was no implication that white ways were morally superior to, or socially more desirable than, those of the Eskimos. Actually, those interviewed said they had thought very little about comparisons between the two groups. For the most part, they expressed little or no ambivalence about being Eskimos or any strong desire to obtain the non-material symbols of prestige in the white world. This is not surprising in view of the infrequent contact these particular Eskimos have had with white people or with any of the mass media of communication in Western society. These findings were supported by the picture stories obtained from Eskimo youths of ages fourteen to nineteen. A few of these pictures showed both Eskimo and non-Eskimo figures, and they elicited discussion about the differences between these groups. (Pictures can be found in Appendix L.) Almost all of the comparisons were made in terms of economic and material differences rather than in terms of the social or moral superiority of one group. In a large number of these stories, the Eskimo and non-Eskimo characters merely interacted with each other, with no explicit or implicit comparisons made. Eskimos, in the stories, did not desire to be or to act like white men, nor did the whites look down on the Eskimos. The two or three exceptions to this generalization were from youngsters either attending or planning to attend high school in the near future.

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[1] Powdermaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-360; Evon Vogt, *Navajo Veterans: A Study of Changing Values* (Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. XLI. Cambridge: Harvard University, 1951), pp. 87, 106.

The Value System in Alakanuk

We have shown how some aspects of the community structure and organization influence the motivation for schooling. Aside from the factors specifically relevant to Alakanuk, there is also the influence of a more generalized Eskimo value system and of Eskimo personality characteristics. These exert an important, although frequently indirect, effect on the motivation for schooling and the ability to cope successfully with the requirements of the curriculum. Often those who work with the Eskimo population are disturbed by what they regard as a lack of ability or interest in education. Sometimes teachers, who for the most part come from the middle-class segment of our own society, try to understand the behavior of Eskimo children and parents in terms of their own value system. For example, a mother in our society who tells the doctor that she did not give the prescribed medicine to her six year old son because "he doesn't like it and doesn't want to take it" would be considered an irresponsible parent who had either little interest in, and/or control of, her child. Given the norms of behavior and our societal values about the parent-child relationship, this characterization would probably be fairly accurate. However, to characterize the Eskimo mother in this manner because she manifests the above behavior would probably be highly erroneous. As we shall see, Eskimos have certain values concerning what are, or are not, proper interpersonal relations in the situation described above, and this fact makes such a hasty interpretation highly dubious. Since we acquire the values of our society at an early age, and since they become such an integral part of us, we are frequently unaware of their existence and of how they influence our own choices of behavior and evaluations of the behavior of others. For this reason, the Eskimo mother finds it difficult to explain to the "outraged" nurse why she cannot force her child to take the medicine, nor is the nurse aware of the value differences of Eskimo and white mothers that make such behavior appropriate to Eskimo society. It is not our intention here either to condone or to condemn this behavior. It is hoped, however, that a discussion of some Eskimo values will help in an understanding of their motivation and behavior in regard to schooling. This idea is well summarized in Davis' study of social-class influences upon learning:

> To encourage new learning, the teacher must discover the obstacles inherent in the pupil's old learning. She will need, therefore, to learn the pupil's cultural beliefs, his cultural definitions of life problems, the meaning of his words, and his culturally learned conceptions of the teacher herself and the school.[1]

A few words of clarification are necessary before describing Eskimo values. Occasionally, ethnographic accounts contain statements emphasizing a people's being "non-competitive," "individualistic," etc. Of course, _all_ peoples are competitive and individualistic in different areas of social life in varying degrees. When describing the emphasis or lack of emphasis on certain values in Eskimo society, it should be understood that reference is made to its emphasis _relative_ to American middle-class society.

Values concerning individualistic versus familistic orientations. Societies can be placed on a continuum that describes the relative emphasis placed either on the individual or on some collectivity (the family, the clan, the community, etc.). In middle-class American society, the ideal is to emphasize the individual personality and needs of the child, the cultivation of his unique qualities and talents that will enable him to fulfill his potentiality as an individual. Although the middle-class child is trained to adjust to his peer group and to his family, he is also trained to think in terms of achieving eventual individual success by means of utilization of his peculiar abilities. He learns that although he can expect the support of his immediate family essentially it is "up to him" to "stand on his own feet," to make his own way, and to fulfill his own potentialities. In recent years, the decline of the extended family has accentuated this emphasis on the individual.[1] The situation is markedly different among the Eskimos. Observers of Eskimo society have noted the tendency for the individual to think of himself and his fate as being closely tied to the fortunes of his immediate or extended family group. Although in many areas of life he makes individual decisions, he does not usually regard himself as having unique characteristics and needs which differentiate him from others in his family.[1] Perhaps the precarious conditions of existence with which these people have been faced have contributed to this emphasis on the individual's dependency on his larger group. In a very inclement environment, it would hardly be possible for the individual to make his own way or to depend solely upon his own resources for survival. Among the Eskimos biological survival itself frequently depended upon close co-operation of the kin group. In addition, the fact that Eskimo society has traditionally subsisted on the economic margin has discouraged the proliferation of different social and economic roles from which the individual could choose. Eskimo boys grew up to be hunters, and girls became wives and mothers; there were few, if any, other choices. In a sense, the cultivation, and the possibility of expression, of individual differences is the prerogative of a relatively wealthy society. Among the Eskimos, the cultivation of strong individualism would be socially and economically malfunctional. The shaman was perhaps the only individual permitted to cultivate and to express unique behavior to any degree. Usually, however, for an individual to exert his will contrary to the desire of the group or to be physically separated from the kin group would constitute a situation fraught with anxiety and danger. The cultivation of this familistic value begins early in life. Families usually live crowded together in one room with little or no opportunity for privacy. Children are constantly surrounded by members of their families and are rarely permitted to be alone; this pattern is continued through life. The effects of being in constant proximity with family members is accentuated by the permissive and affectionate experiences to which the child is exposed. There is relatively little frustration of his needs, and he learns to expect a high level of gratification from the members of his family. It is likely that his uncles, aunts, and cousins live close by and are also intimately involved in his upbringing.

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[1] Davis, _Social-Class Influences upon Learning_, p. 2.

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[1] Clyde Kluckhohn, "Toward a Comparison of Value-Emphases in Different Cultures," The State of the Social Sciences, Leonard D. White, editor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), pp. 116-32.

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[1] Birket-Smith, op. cit., pp. 52-53, 152.

The manifestations of this value on "familism" are obvious in many areas of Eskimo life. For example, ritual life reflects this emphasis on family ties. A newborn child is named after a recently departed family member and is thought to embody the spirit of the deceased. Food is sometimes ritually placed in the mouth of an infant or is given to an aged person as a means of "feeding" a departed close relative. Marriage was, and to a great extent still is, arranged by older family members. The individualism implicit in the concept of romantic love is not a strong determinant in Eskimo society of one's choice of a marriage partner. One of the old men in the community stated that in the "old days" the preferred marriage partner was a cousin. His explanation was as follows:

> I'll tell you the reason that we married cousins lots of times. It used to be that when the people didn't have any food in the months of January, February, or March, if a woman in a camp was a stranger [i.e., not blood kin], people would say, "Let her go home to her own people--she is someone else's girl. Why should we feed someone who is not our relative?" So they would send her home. In those days when there was no food, everyone had to share with you. If you married a cousin, everyone in the family would share with her, and you would stay together. There used to be a saying that if you married a cousin, it's for life.

This poignant quotation illustrates very well the importance of the kin group in the face of starvation. In a situation of dire crisis, one's responsibility would be to blood kin rather than to an affinal relative. Another striking expression of the emphasis placed on family ties is the interesting method of wage payment at the local salmon cannery. It may be that three or four members of a given family are employed by the cannery in different capacities during the fishing season. After consultation and agreement with the members of the community, the owner waits until the end of the season, at which time an entire family comes as a unit to his office for their pay. Although he informs them of how much each individual has earned, the total sum is divided according to the decision of the family as a whole. The individual himself does not decide on the disposition of his earnings.

There is strong consensus in the village about young people's duty and responsibility to help and to care for their parents when they are aged or in poor health. These attitudes are firmly held by young and old alike. There exists a pervasive fear among the older people that if their children leave them, they will be left helpless with no one to depend on. It is still a common practice in the village for middle-aged or older people who have no children (or few children) to adopt one or more orphans or children from other families as a form of security for their old age. It would be considered shameful for a father to refuse an older couple's request to adopt one of his children, especially if he has many offspring. Although social security checks for the aged have reduced the anxiety of older people, the traditional filial obligations are strictly observed.

> . . . but lots of people still want to have their children around. They always think that something bad can happen and their children might be far away.

As stated above, these attitudes are held by the young people as well as by the parental generation. I was able to detect little or no intergenerational conflict on this account. Young people told me that they "worried" about their families when they were separated, and that a request or even suggestion from a parent to return home from school would be unquestionably obeyed. It is interesting to note that stories told by adolescents in response to pictures shown to them frequently indicated worry and anxiety when a young person either was separated from his family or was contemplating separation. One picture showed an airplane in a village, an Eskimo child entering the plane, and his parents waving to him. In every case, this situation was interpreted as a child's leaving his family to go to school. When I probed for the feelings of the child and parents in the picture, the responses indicated sadness, fear of the unknown, speculation that something would happen necessitating the child's return, etc. In none of the stories were the youngster or the parents happy about the child going away to be educated. Another picture showed a young boy and girl in an urban setting walking and gazing about them. The two strong themes that emerged were a feeling of alienation from and fear of the strange environment and a desire to return to the family and village.

How is this familistic orientation and relative lack of individualism pertinent to the desire or lack of desire for schooling? Many individuals in the village stated that they had discontinued their education because they were needed at home either to help with household chores or to supplement the family income. The mere suggestion by a parent that such help is needed imposes a strong filial obligation on the child. Some individuals related that while they were away at school they worried constantly about affairs at home and felt very lonely and unhappy. This is invariably confirmed by teachers at boarding schools who attest that Eskimo students find the separation from home painful and anxiety-provoking. Although this phenomenon would exist to some extent among children and adolescents in any society, the perceived absoluteness of the separation and the loneliness experienced in the new environment is particularly disturbing to the Eskimo child because of his values and previous family experiences.

Extremely few children from Alakanuk have migrated in search of work or have taken advantage of the government relocation program. Although it was not possible to verify this information, a number of informants stated that a few young people did leave the village to work, but that "nobody ever hears from them anymore." There is a widespread feeling that when young people leave to work elsewhere, they do not return and eventually lose contact with their families. Such behavior is considered unfortunate and is the subject of much gossip. On the other hand, parents whose offspring live close by and who help them when they get older are regarded as fortunate, and the children are looked on with great approval.

The lack of opportunity to utilize education for economic advancement in the village means that the motivation to attend school will be strong only if the individual plans to migrate from Alakanuk in order to seek work in one of the larger centers of population. However, the emphasis on familistic values tends to discourage geographical mobility, and, therefore, indirectly lowers the motivation for continuing education through the higher grades.

Values concerning egalitarianism versus outstanding achievement. Probably one of the most outstanding and pervasive value emphases in Eskimo society is the desire to be part of the group—the wish to be "equal" to others or not to progress too far beyond the level of group attainment. This emphasis on egalitarianism is undoubtedly related to the familistic values discussed above; such values are not compatible with unlimited achievement. Although the "ideal" Eskimo man is the one who doesn't "try to put himself above others," Eskimo culture also puts a great value on the individual's working diligently, being industrious, and becoming a skilled hunter and fisherman. In fact, at Alakanuk, perhaps because of the influence of neighboring, more competitive Indian groups, there exists also the idea of individual excellence and success in the traditional areas of endeavor. While different degrees of competence in such things as hunting and sewing are clearly recognized and sought after in Eskimo society, negative social sanctions would be quickly brought to bear if the individual who so excelled utilized his superiority to accumulate considerably more material goods than his fellows or if he attempted to gain other social advantages because of his skills.

Perhaps all societies have competing, and frequently conflicting, emphases on conformity versus outstanding individual achievement. This value conflict also exists in American society, but here greater value is placed on individual attainment. In Alakanuk, the emphasis is reversed—strong negative pressures are exerted on the individual who gets "too far ahead." In Eskimo society there has never existed, and does not exist today, any trace of social classes or of hierarchically-arranged status positions. The reverse is true among the neighboring Indian groups.

It is difficult to do more than speculate about the origin of values; however, it seems likely that in any society which exists on the economic margin a value system that permits strong competition for ranked social position would endanger the survival of the group. Where people generally have "just enough" for survival and little or no surplus wealth, an individual who obtains a great deal more than the group usually achieves his success at the expense of others. Thus, egalitarianism has had a survival value in Eskimo society where food deprivation has been a pervasive peril. Sharing economic resources with members of the larger community has always been characteristic of Eskimo society. This need to share one's excess resources has been expanded into a more generalized attitude about the desirability of equality and "leveling" in many areas of social endeavor. Surpassing others, either in economic resources or in any socially desirable attribute, leaves an individual open to malicious gossip and, in the past, to malevolent magic. Some of the old people in the village tell stories about outstanding men who were "proud" of their success and who consequently became victims of malevolent sorcery and eventual misfortune. Even today, there is a prevalent belief in the village that if one has too many possessions or is too outstanding, others will "wish bad things for him," and that this will result in his sickness, poverty, etc. Underlying this strongly-held idea is the feeling that one who is exceptional or who boasts about his success makes others feel "low" and "bad"; the "bad wishes" of those who are offended, the villagers believe, frequently bring misfortune on the prominent individual. Children are taught to share with, and not to strive to outdistance, their peers. Even today, Eskimo children are often warned not to be different from others and not to be "above" their fellows if they want to be well liked and to live a long life. In middle-class American society, the child is encouraged and prodded to cultivate his outstanding abilities and to excel his peers; adults are quick to reward the child's outstanding achievement. Few middle-class parents boast about their "just average" child. On the other hand, Eskimo child-rearing practices emphasize the desirability and the safety of being like the other children. The very young Eskimo child, when compared to the pre-school, middle-class American child who is part of a small nuclear family, receives a larger part of his self-esteem from his peer group. Eskimo adults freely verbalize the ideal of treating all children equally; training is directed toward enabling the child, and later the adult, to "fit" into his group rather than to compete with it and excel. Many examples were given by the villagers of children who tried to "act better" than others and who consequently caused trouble and friction. Such children invited ridicule and ostracism from others of their own age and disapproval from adults. The following quotation is taken from an interview with a middle-aged adult in Alakanuk and is rather typical of the prevalent value emphasis on egalitarianism:

> A man is proud when he thinks he is above all the others. He looks high over people and likes to be a boss over people. When someone talks a lot and always knows everything, we say that about him. Maybe people wish bad things about them. I hear in the old days they used to make medicine about a man like that, and he would get sick. Even now, I always tell my kids, when lots of people are talking not to talk first or be the first to give an answer. [Why?] Because maybe they will say something that gets someone else angry. It's better they wait and see what other people do first. I don't want other people to think that they are always smarter than them. That's what I tell them. Sometimes I don't like to answer things because others will say that "he thinks he knows everything," and they will think that I'm proud.

The owner of the cannery related an incident that demonstrated the existence of this value and its ability to arouse strong feeling. When the cannery was first opened, all workers received the same wage. However, the owner decided to reward one of the men who was a particularly efficient worker; he told this man that he would be paid fifty cents an hour more than the average wage. He made this announcement quite openly, thinking that by doing so others would be motivated to increase their productivity.

The individual receiving the extra pay said nothing when he was told of his "good fortune;" he just nodded and walked away. In a short time it was obvious that trouble was brewing. A delegation of workers came to the cannery owner and told him that he should either give this man less money or raise the wages of all employees to the same level. They made it clear that they could not tolerate the idea of pay differentials and that they felt both hurt and insulted by such a procedure. The pay raise was withdrawn. The cannery does grant raises to deserving individuals; however, this is done with discretion, and no public announcement is made. Although most of the workers today realize that this practice is followed, they have come to accept it with no open friction because it receives no overt recognition that violates the value placed on equality.

Another situation in the village illustrates the existence of egalitarianism and the negative sanctions brought to bear on the individual who violates this value. The Eskimo foreman of the salmon cannery receives higher wages than any of the other villagers. In addition, his position as foreman gives him a great deal of power and authority over his fellow workers. He was described to me by the cannery owner as the only villager who could hold the job because he had "drive" and the ability to "supervise men." These same qualities which would make him very successful in the larger American society make him the subject of much resentment and malicious gossip in Alakanuk. Although his power and authority are recognized, there have been open clashes between him and other villagers from time to time. On one occasion, he though he might have to resign because he couldn't stand the ill will of the community. At this point a meeting was held, and it was made clear to the men that if they forced the foreman to quit the cannery might be closed down. Although this individual still occupies his position as foreman, his status in the community is ambivalent. The storekeeper, who also earns a relatively high income, related that he too was the subject of considerable hostility on this account.

The influence that egalitarianism exerts is relevant to an understanding of some of the Eskimo attitudes toward schooling and their ability to perform in the classroom in accordance with the expectations of the teacher. Given the low level of educational attainment in Alakanuk, it is obvious that the individual who goes beyond the elementary school grades is, ipso facto, an outstanding person. Some of the parents expressed the opinion that "too much education makes the child different" and "he doesn't feel comfortable anymore in the village." Other parents said that a high school education "makes some children feel that they are better than others or makes them act like a white man [sic]." These attitudes were held in spite of the fact that some of these informants knew that there were also advantages to "being smart." These opinions contributed to parental ambivalence about encouraging children to continue into high school. Similar attitudes also existed among the younger people; the following are quotations from conversations with two current high school students.

> [How do you feel about going back to school this fall?] Well, I don't want to, much. I think I would rather stay here and hunt and fish. [Why?] I like it better. There are lots of boys that do this, and they talk a lot about it. It's more fun. [How does it feel to be one of the few boys around here who goes to high school?] Well, I don't like to feel important. Maybe I would like to be like everyone else around here.
>
> Some of my brothers and sisters, they feel that I'm getting too much education and am getting to be different from them. [Why?] I don't know--maybe they are jealous. People around here are like that. They know that I want to go away later on, so they think I'm trying to be better.

Although I was able to detect little specific evidence that young people felt it was undesirable for one of their age group to attend high school, it was obvious that some of those attending high school did feel uneasy about being "different" and to some extent "out of things."

I spoke to teachers, including the ex-teacher in Alakanuk, who invariably complained about certain aspects of Eskimo behavior in the classroom. They related incidents about the stony silence that usually greeted them when they asked questions in class. Most of the teachers felt that students did not respond even when they knew the answers. This characteristic of the Eskimo student frustrates the teacher who gears his expectations to the usual response of white students in the classroom situation. Teachers explained the classroom behavior of the Eskimo student in various ways. They stated that the Eskimo pupil was "dumb and unmotivated," that he lacked any "competitive drive," that he was "demonstrating his oriental impassiveness," and even that he "used this as a conscious mechanism to frustrate the teacher." Some teachers called this unresponsive trait a "cultural peculiarity." A few of the teachers reacted by entertaining doubts about the efficacy of their teaching efforts; they began to wonder whether they were "getting through" to the students. Some of the Eskimos I questioned about this phenomenon were aware that it existed, but they merely said that "this is the way Eskimos are." However, others, including some of my adolescent informants, did perceive the connection between the relative lack of verbal response in the classroom and the desire not to appear "too smart" or to be "first." When asked why they were reluctant to appear "too smart," the responses were varied; they included such reasons as, "others will feel bad because they didn't know the answer," "others won't like you for trying to be first and showing that you are smart," "maybe you will make a mistake and the rest [of the students] will laugh at you," "Eskimos don't behave that way," etc. All these explanations contain the wish to not be outstanding for fear of arousing the jealousy and ill will of others. Two teen-age students wondered why it was necessary to recite the answer publicly when "the only important thing is to know the answer." Unlike most middle-class American students, Eskimo youngsters generally do not show strong needs to win the approval of the teacher by openly demonstrating that they "know the answers."

Another closely related manifestation of the emphasis on egalitarianism is shown by the frequent failure of Eskimo students to be motivated by the rewards usually so successful with middle-class white students. Teachers are sometimes a bit chagrined by the fact that praise or special prizes for outstanding work given to Eskimo students in the classroom do not produce the expected heightened motivation to study, and are sometimes even sources of embarrassment to the "rewarded" student. This behavior should be recognized as part of the Eskimo child's deep-seated value orientation--something he is taught at a very young age. Failure to appreciate this point could result in erroneous negative evaluations of Eskimo students and unsuitable pedagogical methods.

Values concerning respect for the integrity of the individual. The previous discussion of the value emphases in Eskimo society may have implied that the Eskimo individual has very little autonomy and is completely submerged in the larger group. Superficial observation of Eskimo society, with its relative lack of heterogeneity of social roles, appears to confirm this impression. However, closer acquaintance with these people indicates that this conclusion is erroneous. In those areas of life where group survival is not directly involved, the individual is allowed a great deal of autonomy and latitude in making his own decisions. In many respects the Eskimo places greater value on the integrity of the individual than is true in American society. Kluckhohn's and Leighton's description of Navajo attitudes on this matter is applicable to the Eskimo:

> There is an area of rigidity where what any given person may and may not do is inexorably fixed, but there is likewise a large periphery of freedom. This is not the "romantic individualism" of white tradition, but in many respects the Navajo has more autonomy, more opportunity for genuine spontaneity than is the case in white society. Rights of individuals, including children, over their immediately personal property, are respected to the fullest degree, even when their wishes run counter to the obvious interests of the family or extended family. . . . If a youngster unequivocally says he does not want to go to school or to the hospital, that is, in most families, the end of it. Husbands and wives make no attempt to control every aspect of the behavior of the spouse. . . . [However,] where survival is held to depend on co-operation, the subordination of the individual to the group is rigorously demanded.[1]

White people who live in Eskimo communities frequently express amazement and dismay at what they interpret as

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[1] Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, The Navajo (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), pp. 228-29.

Eskimo parents' lack of ability to control and to discipline their children. The local ex-teacher complained that Alakanuk parents didn't force their children to do homework or even attend school regularly. A frequent response of Eskimo mothers when dealing with such behavior is, "I can't make him do it; he doesn't want to." The child in question may be no more than seven or eight years old. At times the parent permits the teacher to discipline the child in order to insure conformity with the particular norm in question; similar situations were frequently reported. When discussing parental control, Eskimo parents felt that the child must make up his own mind and that they could not force him, either by physical punishment or by threats, to conform. They reasoned that beating or threatening a child only made him frightened and upset and thus incapable of learning "to do anything right." In the long run, they maintained, the child who was treated harshly would manifest serious behavior problems, while the child who was well treated would watch the other children and automatically "grow up to behave like an Eskimo should." There are some basic assumptions underlying the permissive and non-coercive child-rearing practices of Eskimo parents.

First, it is assumed that a child's natural inclination is to conform to societal norms. There is no feeling that "human nature" is inherently intractable or that strong pressure must be exerted on the child to insure his conformity. This is very different from the prevalent assumptions in white society about the nature of the child. Secondly, Eskimo parents assume that the usual informal social pressures to which the child is exposed from his peer group and from adults are sufficient to facilitate learning. These attitudes apply to the socialization of the Eskimo individual at all stages of his life. The tolerant parental attitudes among the Eskimos, as compared with the more directive and punitive Western attitudes, underlie the high value placed on respect for the integrity of the individual.

In all societies there must exist the means for individuals to influence the decisions and behavior of others in particular situations. This is true whether the influence is being exerted upon a person of equal or of different social status. In conformity with the high valuation of the integrity of the individual, the means preferred by Eskimo individuals to influence others are usually indirect and oblique. It is unusual for a person to issue a direct order to another; instead, he will talk around the subject in such a way as to suggest his preferences and desires. Similar norms of communication apply even when one wishes to question another. He usually begins to talk about the subject, suggesting that he is interested in certain information rather than asking a direct question. In many instances it is considered rude, and even insulting, to issue a direct order or to ask directly for information. In this respect Eskimos often consider the white man blunt and unmannerly. White individuals who have employed Eskimo laborers or who have supervised them in various tasks have repeatedly commented on their marked sensitivity and frequent hurt feelings at being given direct orders.

Let us consider how this value relates to the perception of, and the motivation for, schooling. In speaking to Eskimo informants of different ages, it became apparent that only in exceptional cases did parents exert pressure on their children if the latter decided to discontinue their formal education. Adolescents informed me that when they decided to leave school their parents did not attempt to influence them in any way. Furthermore, most of those who were still attending school said that if they did resolve to leave school they would not discuss the matter with their parents before making a final decision. Both parents and children agreed that such a step was completely up to the child. Many Eskimo adults who regretted their own early termination of school stated definitely that they would not attempt to influence their children if they were considering a similar step. Thus, one of the potential pressures on the child to continue his schooling is either absent or weak. In white, middle-class society, the actual or anticipated parental reaction to a child's decision to terminate his education is often an important motivating force for continuing schooling.

Another way in which this emphasis on integrity of the individual influences the motivation for further education is the student's reaction to the discipline to which he is subjected at the Mount Edgecumbe High School. There are relatively few individuals in Alakanuk who have attended, or are currently attending, this institution. However, those I interviewed perceived the discipline at Mount Edgecumbe as being rigid and harsh; they stated that this contributed to their unhappiness in school. One boy described his feelings very graphically when he said, "I feel as if someone is always controlling me while I'm there." Some of the others felt as if they weren't trusted in school; "as if they didn't watch us so much we would do something bad." They felt that the numerous rules restricted their freedom unduly and alienated them from the staff members, who were perceived as disciplinarians. I wish to make it clear that I am not commenting on the justification of these student perceptions; this is not within the area of this investigation. It is clear, however, that the very strong negative reactions of Eskimo students stem partly from the rather extreme disparity between the types of discipline they experience in their homes and in Mount Edgecumbe. The high level of permissiveness to which the child is exposed at home, plus the general respect for the integrity of the individual in Eskimo society, makes his transition to the classroom situation somewhat traumatic for him.

Values concerning concrete versus abstract thinking. The ability to conceptualize in abstract terms is, properly speaking, not a value but an attribute of the thinking processes. Quite obviously, this factor is related to the ability to cope with a "Western" school curriculum. Before discussing the peculiarities of the Eskimo in this respect, a number of qualifying statements must be made. All human beings engage in abstract thinking to some extent. Language itself depends upon this ability and is one of the phenomena that distinguishes man from the lower animal forms. Consequently, any statement made about the Eskimo ability to reason in abstract terms should be regarded as a relative one. Secondly, in regard to differences in this ability which do exist among different peoples, there is no reason to believe that it is related to varying biological capacities in ethnic or racial groups. It is probable that the experiences of individuals in groups of diverse culture and social organization are more crucially involved. Finally, the subject of abstract thinking is extremely complex and requires careful study. This was not possible during this short field study of the Eskimos. However, anthropologists who have studied the Eskimos very thoroughly have made impressionistic statements about the relative inability of these people to deal with high-level abstractions and their lack of strong systematizing trends.

Birket-Smith feels that these people "lack the ability for systematic description."[1] He also notes that Diamond Jenness concurs in this opinion.[2] After examining the ethnographic evidence, Kroeber reaches a similar conclusion in his statement that, "The Eskimos, again, are very sensory, immediate, concrete, and discrete in their ethos."[3] It has been noted that Eskimo mythology is strongly marked by the quality of "literalness."[4] In my own conversations with Eskimos, I was impressed with their meagre elaboration of human motivation or affect; this characteristic was also noted by white people fluent in the Eskimo language. Eskimos are inclined to remain at the level of literal description of events or behavior, and they manifest difficulty when asked to discuss motives and emotions or to systematize disparate events. Evidence of a more experimental nature supporting these observations was also obtained. The stories which adolescent Eskimos told after looking at various picture cards contained very meagre plot development. For the most part, the stories consisted of concrete descriptions of the physical environment and of overt human behavior, with no attempt to systematize these discrete impressions into a unified plot. Also, material dealing with the motives or feelings of the human actors in these stories was notably absent. Similar methods of "tapping" this quality of thinking of non-literate peoples were applied by Nadel and Henry in their analyses of the formal aspects of stories told in response to picture cards used in the Thematic Apperception Test.[1]

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[1] Birket-Smith, op. cit., p. 50.

[2] Ibid.

[3] A. L. Kroeber, Anthropology (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Co., 1948), p. 606.

[4] John R. Cummings, "Metaphysical Implications of the Folktales of the Eskimos of Alaska," Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska, III (1954), 37-63.

White people to whom I have spoken about this aspect of Eskimo thinking explain the phenomenon in different ways. Some feel that the Eskimo is "just too dumb" to think abstractly. Others feel that the Eskimo language structure permits him to reason only in a concrete and literal manner. Little is known, however, about the actual causative factors. It is probable that a people who do not have a written language will be relatively less facile in handling abstract ideas than will those who do employ a written language. In addition, the pervasive concern with survival problems in this economically marginal society has given rise to a very ingenious, but simple, technology (compared to that of the Western world) and body of knowledge necessary to cope with the environment. The everyday concerns of traditional Eskimo life do not require the cultivation of well-developed faculties of abstraction or systematization. The young are able to observe firsthand the tasks which they will be obliged to perform as adults, and, for the most part, the older generation is able to impart its knowledge to the young by means of example rather than by abstract and systematized explanation. A number of teachers noted that the Eskimo student is able to perform the mechanical operations involved in arithmetic but encounters considerable difficulty with mathematical problems requiring a visualization of the relationship between various discrete elements. If these impressions of the Eskimo's difficulty in handling tasks that require abstract thinking are correct, then this factor undoubtedly accounts for some of the trouble he encounters with the school curriculum.[1]

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[1] S. F. Nadel, "Experiments on Culture Psychology," Africa, X (October, 1937), 421-35; William E. Henry, "The Thematic Technique in the Study of Culture-Personality Relations," Genetic Psychology Monographs, XXXV (1947), 3-135.

Another feature that has been related to the Eskimo's propensity for the literal and the concrete is his culturally unique mode of verbalizing and communicating his problems and emotional reactions to situations. It was noted above that the stories told by Eskimo adolescents contained very meagre discussion of people's feelings and motives. Teachers and clergymen who know the Eskimos rather intimately frequently speak about their failure to verbalize and communicate material related to their subjective reactions to situations. At the local school and at Mount Edgecumbe High School, this characteristic raises problems in counseling Eskimo students. Teachers often observe that when something is bothering an Eskimo student it is difficult to get him to verbalize his feelings. However, the question here is whether the Eskimo is reluctant to communicate his emotions to white persons in such situations or whether he is not easily able to conceptualize such subjective and introspective material.

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[1] Birket-Smith, op. cit., p. 49.

In the course of my interviews I attempted to learn more about the mode of communication between children and adults within the Eskimo family in order to obtain a deeper understanding of this problem. Time and time again, my adolescent informants told me that they rarely spoke to their parents about their own intimate feelings. Some had difficulty understanding my questions on this subject, while others felt that such questions were rather strange. When young people were asked whether they told their parents about their reasons for disliking school, the vast majority replied that they did not. This was confirmed by parents, who usually knew very little about the reasons for their children's reactions to school or about their reasons for leaving school. Young Eskimo informants who recognized that there was a relative lack of communication in their families concerning their emotional reactions had trouble explaining the underlying causes. Some said that they "had too much respect for their parents" to talk to them about such matters. Others indicated that people, including family members, might "laugh at us if we talked about such things." A particularly perceptive young Eskimo man, who is on the staff of Mount Edgecumbe, explained this cultural peculiarity in this manner:

> Still another thing that causes trouble sometimes is that the Eskimos, if they have trouble or something bothering them, they just bottle it up and keep it to themselves and don't tell anyone about it till it gets so bad that it just makes them miserable, and they want to leave. Everyone is surprised because they didn't know it, but they were probably having trouble for a long time. I'm that way myself--just can't help it. I think sometimes that the Eskimo thinks that if he has trouble, it's for himself. He thinks that he has to solve it for himself; it's nobody else's business. Maybe he is ashamed or afraid to talk to anybody. [Why?] Because he thinks that they wouldn't be interested. He might just be bothering them. He doesn't think that his problem is important to anybody else. [How about his parents back home? Does he tell his problems to his parents?] No, even at home I remember it was that way with me. When I had a problem, I almost never discussed it with my parents. People didn't do this. You felt the same way as I said, it was your problem, and you felt it wouldn't interest anybody else, even your parents. So you kept it to yourself.

It may be that this communication peculiarity of the Eskimos is a manifestation of the literal and concrete quality that characterizes their thinking and interpersonal speech. However, whether or not this speculation is valid, the fact remains that people responsible for the guidance of Eskimo youth should be aware of this aspect of their culture.

Values concerning temporal orientation; emphasis on present versus future times. Studies of student motivation to achieve high grades and to remain in school indicate that both of these motivations are closely related to a future-oriented approach to life. Students who were high achievers and who were motivated to obtain higher education were also more concerned with long-range goals. On the other hand, those who dropped out of school at an early age were interested in acquiring immediate financial rewards and in having time for more pleasurable activities. These differences were found to characterize different social classes in our society as well as individuals within each social class.[1] A study conducted by Leshan indicated that among individuals in the lower socio-economic class there was usually a quick sequence of tension and relief and a general inability to sustain frustration for long periods. For these people, future goals were too vague and uncertain to have much motivational value. In contrast, those in the middle and upper socio-economic groups were able to inhibit activity leading to immediate relief of needs if such behavior seemed conducive to long-range goal attainment. These differences were found to be related to the life experiences of individuals in the various groups. Among the lower class, children were punished immediately for disobedience, and little use was made of future rewards or explanations of future consequences as a means of training the child. In addition, the meagre economic resources of this group discouraged long-range planning and allocation of resources. These factors instilled in this social class a psychology of obtaining gratification "while the getting is good." Thus, a well-developed future-time orientation had little opportunity to develop.[1] With these brief background comments on some research findings pertinent to time perspective, let us turn to the Eskimos.

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[1] John E. Teacan, "Future Time Perspective, Optimism, and Academic Achievement," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, LVII (1958), 379-80; Robert S. Weiss and David Riesman, "Social Problems and Disorganization in the World of Work," Contemporary Social Problems, Robert K. Merton and Robert A. Nisbet, editors (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, Inc., 1961), pp. 478-79.

There seems to be a strong emphasis in Eskimo society on immediate gratification and short-range goals as opposed to long-range goal attainment. This is quite understandable when one examines their cultural practices and society. For the most part, Eskimos have always had a marginal economic existence; stories are still common in the village about periods of starvation. It was difficult to predict with any accuracy anything about the food supply from year to year, and economic surplus was either non-existent or, if available at all, could be stored only for a short time. Thus, long-range planning was not feasible in this society. The Eskimos' all-absorbing problem was how to overcome the present difficulties of an inhospitable environment. It is interesting that, even in the traditional religious system of the Eskimos, the emphasis "lay in the solution of problems of immediate concern,"[1] and there was little speculation about, or interest in, the hereafter.[2]

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[1] Lawrence L. Leshan, "Time Orientation and Social Class," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology (Supplement), XLVII (1952), 589-92.

The socialization of the Eskimo infant and child is permissive, and he experiences a relatively high and immediate satisfaction of his needs; it is considered bad for the small child to cry. He is seldom subjected to rigid schedules, as is the case in the middle class of our society, and is usually fed on demand; he customarily eats when hungry and sleeps when fatigued. Eskimo parents seldom promise children future rewards as compensation for current deprivation or as payment for good behavior. In summary, the learning experiences of the Eskimo child and adult militate against placing a high value on future goals or on sustaining current frustration for the sake of future rewards. On the contrary, the Eskimo learns to consume till satiety when resources are available, and to enjoy himself while he can.

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[1] Robert F. Spencer, The North Alaskan Eskimo: A Study in Ecology and Society (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 171. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1959), p. 256.

[2] Birket-Smith, op. cit., p. 55.

White people, and even the more acculturated Eskimos in Alakanuk, remarked about the improvidence of the villagers. The storekeeper gave numerous instances of Eskimos who spent heavily on "luxury" items in spite of their large debts. According to informants, the availability of government welfare and relief money accentuated the lack of concern for the future. This value emphasis became most obvious, however, in the area of long-range goals. Occupational goals were vague and did not provide the motivational drive to overcome the difficulties experienced with the school curriculum. During an interview, it was not unusual for an individual to express a desire for a particular position, and ten minutes later to speak about getting a completely different type of job. This same pattern of thought was expressed when the individual spoke about the place he would like to live. When I asked some of the young people what they would do if they were offered any kind of remunerative job before completing school, the answer invariably was, "I would take it." In his study of native education in Alaska, Ray found that "native students showed considerably more indecision as to their possible life work than did the non-native students."[1] Students who expressed a desire to attend college had no idea of how to finance their education. Most of them had not even given the problem any thought; college was too far in the future to constitute any present concern for them. Another indication of the relative lack of future-time orientation emerged in the stories told by adolescents in response to pictures shown to them. Psychologists sometimes measure temporal orientation of a subject by the time span utilized in his projected stories. For the most part, the stories told by Alakanuk adolescents were confined to the present, and only on rare occasions did they deal with future attainments. White middle-class American adolescents usually produce stories containing much more material relating to future events and goal attainments.

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[1] Charles K. Ray, A Program of Education for Alaskan Natives (revised edition; College, Alaska: University of Alaska, 1959), p. 165.

The value emphasis in Eskimo culture on present need gratification as opposed to long-range attainment of goals weakens the motivation to continue school in order to obtain a job sometime in the future. In the case of the Eskimo student, this motivation for an eventual job must be particularly strong to compensate for the inevitable difficulties of the "Western" school curriculum and the need to leave home and family to attend high school.

Values concerning active mastery versus fatalism. The Eskimo's pursuit of higher education is beset by the many difficulties already mentioned in this paper. Here it is important to discuss the degree to which the Eskimo regards himself as able to master his environment through his own efforts. Does he see himself as an active agent who has an appreciable control or influence over his fate, or does he regard himself as a passive recipient of the forces which surround him? Many social scientists maintain that the strong value placed on "active mastery" in American society is responsible for the remarkable technological and economic progress that has been made in this country. Americans assume that human effort will inevitably result in progress and "a better life." Such American values are frequently contrasted to the traditional "resigned acceptance of fate" in Asian societies. Where does Eskimo society stand on this continuum? What does the Eskimo assume about "progress" and his ability to "conquer" nature in order to improve his position? An examination of the literature on traditional Eskimo society indicates that the Eskimos are essentially passive in their outlook on life. Man is not viewed as a being with the unique destiny of triumphing continually over the forces of nature. Most observers of Eskimo society maintain that the Eskimo feels relatively passive in the face of the powerful and dangerous forces of nature. He does not assume that he can inevitably better his position in life by dint of his own will and effort. Birket-Smith speaks of the Eskimo as shrinking from self-assertion and "feeling personal impotence against all the overwhelming surrounding forces."[1] Lantis, in a discussion of Nunivak Eskimo personality as revealed by their myths, notes that "threats from the natural world . . . contribute to one of the most important aspects of Eskimo personality."[2] Finally, Spencer describes the North Alaskan Eskimo as feeling "at the mercy of various hostile forces," and regarding himself as incapable of effecting control over the natural order.[3]

Although my own observations in Alakanuk generally concurred with the findings in the literature, the evidence is by no means clear-cut. First, it should be noted that hard work and effort are highly valued in Alakanuk, and among Eskimos generally. Secondly, my interviews in Alakanuk indicate that, in relation to the basic economic activities (hunting and fishing, for example), the men feel capable and confident of their skill, and they attempt to excel in the face of the obstacles posed by a harsh environment. In these areas of activity, it would be wrong to regard the Eskimos of Alakanuk as passive or fatalistic about the efficacy of their own efforts. However, interviews in the community brought out other relevant data. Discussions with the villagers about periods of want and hunger gave evidence of the belief that, basically, the availability of food resources in their environment depended upon forces, natural or spiritual, over which they had little control. The possibility of being caught out in a raging snowstorm was also something about which man could do little. The numerous ritualistic devices used in the past to placate spirit forces attested to the basic concern of the Eskimos about their marginal and precarious existence.

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[1] Birket-Smith, op. cit., pp. 54, 162, 166.

[2] Margaret Lantis, "Nunivak Eskimo Personality as Revealed in Mythology," Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska, II (1953), 149

[3] Spencer, op. cit., p. 256.

In an attempt to learn more about the Eskimo's fatalistic acceptance of his lot or feelings of mastery, I presented adolescent informants at Alakanuk with a card on which ten steps were represented. On the top step was written "best way of life," and on the bottom, "worst way of life." In order to anchor the scale, informants were asked to describe their "best" and "worst" way of life and to place themselves on one of the steps representing their present position or to estimate their chances of reaching the ideal goal. During the course of these interviews, however, I did learn something about the attitude of fatalism now under consideration. One of the reasons that respondents could not estimate their chances of reaching their "best way of life" was that they could not possibly predict "what would happen" to them. They had little conviction that, by their own efforts, they could significantly alter the fate in store for them. Without a subjective feeling of mastery, it was not possible for them to attempt to predict their chances of long-range goal attainment.

It is difficult to know exactly how attitudes of fatalism affect the motivation to pursue long-range educational and occupational goals. However, if speculation on this point is correct, it would seem that such attitudes would make these goals seem more uncertain than usual. As noted previously, by no means are the Eskimos a people who accept their fate passively, in all areas of existence. It is possible that when they have had a greater exposure to education and have acquired more confidence in their ability to cope with the school curriculum and to compete on the job market, this basically fatalistic orientation will change to one of more active mastery.

The previous pages by no means represent a comprehensive discussion of the value system in Alakanuk. An attempt was made to select only those attitudes and orientations which appeared to be closely related to the motivation to acquire schooling. After presenting comparable pictures of two other villages, material from the three communities will be utilized in a final, comparative statement.

KOTZEBUE

The Community

Kotzebue is located twenty-six miles above the Arctic Circle on the northern part of a peninsula bounded on the west and north by Kotzebue Sound and on the east by Hotham Inlet. Three river systems and Kotzebue Sound converge at Kotzebue to form a natural transportation center for the small villages in the neighboring inland areas. The waters surrounding the village are ice-free from May to October. A generally flat terrain with sparse vegetation characterizes the area. Aside from small bushes, there is no timber in the surrounding region; the nearest supply is across the Sound toward the Noatak River, about ten miles away. Average winter temperatures are not extremely severe because of the moderating influence of the Arctic Ocean. Snow usually falls during every month of the year except July and August when the temperature may rise into the eighties.

The village is named after Captain Otto von Kotzebue, who discovered Kotzebue Sound in 1816 in his attempt to find a northeast passage. Kotzebue has been a trade and recreation center for a wide surrounding area, especially during the summer months. As a result, the population of the community has always been a shifting and heterogeneous one. Even inhabitants of Siberia who came to trade sometimes settled in the village. The importance of Kotzebue as a trading center increased with the arrival of whaling ships and prospectors in search of gold; these also left their marks on the already heterogeneous population.

Most of the original houses in the village are made of logs and are located along the shore of the Sound. In recent years, the rapid growth of the community has caused new houses to be built. There is great variation in size and construction of the approximately two hundred fifty dwellings. Probably the modal number of rooms is two.

Most of the residences contain a minimum amount of furniture and are supplied with oil stoves and radios. A few of the more affluent families use butane or electricity for cooking purposes. Each house is usually occupied by one nuclear family and one or two tangent relatives. In some instances, young couples live with in-laws until they can afford their own homes. I was able to detect no definite patterns of extended families living adjacently; however, my data are not complete on this matter.

The village consists of 1290 individuals,[1] of whom approximately two hundred fifty are white. Most of these are employed in the various government facilities and private business establishments. Using the 1958 Bureau of Indian Affairs School Census, I was able to determine that 60 per cent of the population are full-blooded Eskimos, 35 per cent are "mixed bloods,"[2] and 5 per cent are white. The relatively large number of less-than-full-blooded

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[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Number of Inhabitants, Alaska, p. 10.

[2] Full-blooded is defined as four-quarters or seven-eighths Eskimo. Mixed blood is defined as being three-quarters or less Eskimo.

Eskimos indicates the extensive contact with white society over a period of many years. As in many other Eskimo villages, the drastic reduction of infant and child mortality in recent years has resulted in a large number of children in the community; 48 per cent of the population is under fourteen. This fact undoubtedly places a considerable strain on the economically productive portion of the village population. Aside from the natural increase in population, there has been a long-standing migration into the district. This process has been accelerated since World War II because of the growth of government agencies, private business, and the existence of an elementary school. According to an informant who came to Kotzebue in 1937, the residents then numbered about two hundred fifty, and, aside from the few cabins on the waterfront, most of the dwellings were tents and makeshift structures. There were also one trading post, a small school building, the Friends Church, and the Public Health Hospital. According to the U. S. Census reports, there were 372 inhabitants in Kotzebue in 1939, and 623 in 1950. Thus, for each decade from 1939 to date the population of the village has doubled.

Economic subsistence patterns. There are no business or government enterprises in the community that offer any large-scale steady employment to the native population. The predominant aspect of economic life in Kotzebue is that most of the employed residents work at regular jobs with cash remuneration for part of the year and engage in the traditional Eskimo pursuits of hunting and fishing for the other part. Although the income from the products of hurting and fishing is probably slightly higher than wage income for most of the families, the wage income is, nevertheless, an important part of the economic resources available to the villagers. Unlike the situation in Alakanuk, where cash income is an economic supplement for the people, in Kotzebue it is an indispensable part of their economic life. Because this community exhibits a rather "mixed" and heterogeneous economy, it is difficult to delineate well-defined patterns of the economic cycle of activities.

Until the end of World War II, relatively few wage jobs were available in the community. Individuals lived mainly on the resources offered by the land and sea with additional cash supplements from the sale of animal skins, shee fish, and dried salmon. In the summer, many men would leave the community to take temporary jobs as laborers on the railroad, in fish canneries in the southwestern part of the state, and in the mines of Nome and Fairbanks. In Kotzebue itself there were only a few jobs available on small construction projects, in the Public Health Hospital, and in the Bureau of Indian Affairs School. Almost all the skilled positions in the community were filled by whites. During the winter, there was a relatively abundant supply of caribou, seals, shee fish, and ptarmigan. In the summer months, those who were not engaged, even part-time, in wage labor fished for salmon and hunted seals, ugruk (bearded seal), and the small white beluga whale. Various species of game birds and ducks were hunted in the early autumn. In addition, women and children gathered wild berries, roots, and different types of greens. Fox, muskrat, and other fur-bearing animals were trapped in the late autumn and winter. However, in recent years this activity has declined markedly since the price of furs has dropped to a point where the practice is no longer economically profitable.

The economic cycle outlined above still prevails to a considerable extent; however, many changes have occurred in the existing economy. Although the canneries still employ about a hundred men during the summer, employment in the mines and on the railroads has declined. During the last few years in Kotzebue, there has been a considerable amount of construction which has provided seasonal work for a great many people, and the increase of government facilities and private enterprises offers steady work to a smaller number of individuals. For the first time, women are beginning to work for wages. The Public Health Hospital has about forty employees; twenty to twenty-five of these are Eskimos and most of these are women. Another large employer is the B. & R. Barge Company which hires about two hundred Eskimos as longshoremen for a few weeks during the summer. During the remainder of the year, the employment role of this concern varies from five to ten men. For the past few years, 1959-1960, a new Public Health Hospital has been under construction and has supplied work for approximately thirty Eskimos. About four or five of these were skilled workers (carpenters, painters, etc.) whose wages varied between eight hundred dollars and more than a thousand dollars per month when working full-time. Next summer, additional construction on the Bureau of Indian Affairs School will begin and will provide employment for approximately twenty skilled and unskilled native laborers for a period of one year. All such work is governed by union wage scales, and remuneration is quite high. Among other construction projects in recent years were the nearby radar site and a large building on the waterfront that houses the bank, post office, movie house, trading post, and a restaurant. Other enterprises in the community offering wage employment to a small number of local individuals are the Federal Aviation Agency (two natives), Wien Airlines (five or six natives), the Kotzebue Electric Company (two natives), Alaska Communication System (two natives), and Alaska Airlines. The three local stores, restaurants, and the hotel may employ about ten additional natives. Mention should be made of the four or five small "stores" operated by residents in their homes during the past three years. These one-room establishments sell a variety of such items as food, hardware, and various articles of clothing.

Government welfare and relief provisions are additional sources of revenue in Kotzebue. Although the existence of many kinds of temporary work has kept the relief and welfare load down to some degree, a high percentage of Kotzebue families receives some income from this source. Still another source of income for young women is baby-sitting and house cleaning in the homes of white families or even in native homes where the wife works.

It is interesting that in the 1960 Bureau of Indian Affairs Census for the village, almost all the adult males listed as their occupations either laborer or various skilled vocations, such as carpenter, electrician, tractor operator, etc.; almost no one in the village listed hunter or fisherman as his major occupation. This fact is noteworthy, since the majority of the men probably depend on fish and game animals for at least half of their real incomes. In spite of this, they view themselves either as skilled or unskilled laborers. In 1959, the Kotzebue Chamber of Commerce compiled a list of almost a hundred men who had had experience on a "regular" job. Of this group, all but thirty-six regarded themselves as being in the "skilled" category. Twenty-two of them were members of various trade unions at that time.

Along with the increase in wage-paying jobs in the community, there has been a growth in the desire for "Western" material goods. As noted previously, most of the stoves used for cooking and for heating the homes use oil. These Eskimos also depend on cash for the purchase of items necessary in their economic activities, such as motors and fuel for outboard motorboats, fishing equipment, guns and ammunition for hunting. Most of the clothing of the villagers, except that of the older generation, is purchased in the store or through the Sears-Roebuck catalog. Although I made no detailed study of the food habits in Kotzebue, it seems that the diet consists, to a great extent, of "store-bought" food. Aside from dietary necessities, the desire for "luxury" items has increased. Most of the families own radios, and a few have purchased electric stoves for their homes. Recreational activities, such as attending movies and drinking, also absorb much of the cash income of some families. In general, the contact of many villagers with urban centers of Alaska and their growing exposure to such mass media of communication as radio, movies, and picture magazines have served to whet their appetites for "Western" food, clothes, and luxury items. These articles have become particularly important to the younger people in the community.

There are a number of noteworthy aspects of

Kotzebue's economic system. First, the importance of the traditional modes of gaining a livelihood has declined progressively, and the villagers have become concomitantly dependent on a cash economy and on "store-bought" items. The latter articles are now regarded by most Kotzebue residents as necessary and expected components of their desired standard of living. Secondly, the jobs, both in the community and on the "outside," available to these people are, for the most part, seasonal and unskilled. Finally, in recent years, some opportunities to earn cash incomes have become available to native women residents of Kotzebue. As we shall see, these facts are relevant to an understanding of the motivation for schooling.

Social organization. Kotzebue is a fourth-class incorporated town with a seven-member council elected every year. In 1961, all but one council member were Eskimos.[1] A 2 per cent sales tax has been levied by the council on purchases made in the community, and the revenue has been used for the construction and furnishing of a jail, paying the salary of a full-time policeman, snow clearance, installation and maintenance of street lights, and for other community services. In the village, there is a state-appointed magistrate and a locally-appointed city clerk, city policeman, and fire chief. In addition, Kotzebue has a Chamber of Commerce composed mainly of prominent white residents; only one Eskimo serves on this organization. The Chamber disseminates information about the community in an attempt to attract business enterprises and to enhance tourist attractions. It has also been active in such community projects as organizing a library and arranging for recreational events, such as Fourth of July celebrations. Among other formal organizations in Kotzebue are a Mothers' Club, a Parent-Teacher Association, and a National Guard Unit.

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[1] Council members tend to have more schooling than the average for the community, and they speak English well.

At present, five churches are active in the town: Friends, Roman Catholic, Church of God, Episcopal, and Baptist. The Friends Church is the oldest in Kotzebue, and it has been functioning there since the late Nineteenth Century. It has the largest congregation and is the most opulent religious body in the community. A few years ago, a high school was built under the auspices of this church;

however, its student body is non-sectarian. According to prevailing community opinion, including the clergymen, the existence of five different churches in a town of this size serves to reduce community cohesion and, in some cases, to produce schisms between different groups. For example, a large part of the Episcopal congregation lives close to their church, toward one end of the town. Many of these people were originally from Point Hope and are viewed by the townspeople as "outsiders." I was able to gather little information on church attendance or activities. However, I spoke to clergymen representing three various churches, who felt that their native congregations had been influenced but little by the basic theological and moral teachings of Christianity.

For the most part, the traditional Eskimo institutions and practices are no longer active or vital forces in community life. In Kotzebue, the Eskimo community house, or kashgi, no longer exists, and Eskimo festivities and dances are performed mainly for tourists. Traditional dances are held during the winter months by some of the recent migrants to the community. For the most part, however, the youth of Kotzebue view these events as relics of the past and feel more comfortable dancing to "rock and roll" music.

There are two movie houses in the community which are open every night and which are well attended by young and old alike; movies are a very popular form of entertainment. During the day, the recently opened pool hall and card playing establishment attracts men of all ages, and it is rapidly becoming a "hangout" for the younger element. Gambling is common in this establishment, and the Eskimo population engage in it with great relish. The local "night spot" for teen-agers and young adults is a coffeehouse with a dance floor and a jukebox in the rear. This establishment provides a meeting place for the Eskimos and for the soldiers stationed at the nearby base. Although no alcoholic beverages are sold in the community, many of the young people bring their own bottles into this place and drink their coffee "half-and-half." Informal parties are another popular form of recreation; informants relate that heavy drinking is not infrequent on such occasions.

The policeman and the local magistrate constitute the formal mechanisms of social control in Kotzebue. A state policeman also visits the community periodically to handle the more serious cases. Such cases are usually tried in the Nome court, and the offender, if convicted, is imprisoned there. In recent years in Kotzebue, there has been a rash of petty violations by gangs of young teen-agers, and there have been increases in thefts from the local stores. Parents frequently bemoan the fact that they "can't understand what is happening to the Eskimo youth."

The traditional Eskimo practice of sharing food resources still exists in Kotzebue although it is declining sharply. There are a number of factors responsible for this decline. Most important is that as the transition to a cash economy increases people become more reluctant to give away things which they have purchased in the store. It is no longer a matter of sharing only beluga or seal meat. In addition, people now spend much less time in hunting and fishing, and their own supplies of traditionally-shared items have been considerably reduced. More and more complaints are heard in Kotzebue about "spongers" and about the fact that one must pay for his own things in the store with cash earned through wage labor. It is interesting that some Eskimos in the community have begun to set up their own small enterprises to sell their surplus fish and other items which were formerly shared. The feeling among Kotzebue residents is now that one's surplus can provide a cash yield. Another element involved in the decline of community sharing patterns is the increased availability in recent years of government welfare and relief funds. People now feel that such funds relieve them of the burden of caring for the needy community members. Still another contributing factor is the heterogeneity of the town produced by the continual influx of migrants from various neighboring districts. Some informants described Kotzebue as a "village of strangers." In such a community, it is understandable that strong mutual expectations of support in times of need are reduced.

Leadership patterns in Kotzebue reflect the acculturative processes occurring there. A shift from the older Eskimo pattern of informal community government and social control to one where power is located in elected officials and governing bodies is taking place. The community leader is no longer the old person or the outstanding hunter, but present native leaders (councilmen and other appointed officials) have little prestige in the eyes of the population and little influence beyond that directly associated with their positions. Most of my informants were not even able to name more than a few of the current council members; it was also difficult for them to name "the important people in the village." Most of the names given were those of prominent white people in the community who had wealth and/or positions of power but not necessarily prestige. It might be said that there is a relative vacuum of native leadership in Kotzebue.

Schooling and education. Although Kotzebue has had a Bureau of Indian Affairs elementary school for many years, the present school, which goes to the eighth grade, is relatively new and attractive. Due to overcrowding, however, in the past few years some students in the seventh and eighth grades have had to complete their grade school education outside the community. In addition to the Bureau of Indian Affairs school, the Friends Church built a high school three years ago in Kotzebue, and it has been functioning since. Last year, it enrolled about thirty students, and ten dropped out before the end of the academic year.

Information on the educational achievement of the population in Kotzebue was secured from the Bureau of

Indian Affairs School Census for 1958.[1] The average grade attainment of those aged forty and over was five and four-tenths.[2] The corresponding figures for those twenty to twenty-nine years of age and fifteen to nineteen years of age were six and seven-tenths and eight and two-tenths, respectively. Since many of those in the fifteen to nineteen year old category are still attending school, the final attainment of individuals in this group will be higher. Kotzebue males and females showed no significant differences in school attainment. The figures indicated very clearly that the younger generations were progressively reaching higher final grade levels. It is also noteworthy that the average number of grades retarded[3] for all students between ages six and sixteen was one and eight-tenths. The corresponding figure for students in Alakanuk at this age level was three and two-tenths. This is an important finding in view of the fact that a previous study of native education indicated that the older the student was when he entered high school, the greater the likelihood of his dropping out before graduation.[1]

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[1] All the statistics on education in the village came from this census.

[2] School attainment of people over age fifty was not reported in many instances. Probably if their grade achievement had been reported and averaged in with the available data for this age group, the average grade attainment would have been somewhat lower than five and four-tenths.

[3] See footnote on page 81

In the discussion of education in Alakanuk, the question was raised about the relationship between the educational attainment of parents and that of their children. The figures presented for Alakanuk indicated that after the third grade a relationship between the achievement of parents and that of their children ceased to exist. This was explained in terms of the prevailing perception of the function and usefulness of education in that village. What is the corresponding situation in Kotzebue? Do children with parents of higher education also attain higher grade levels? The relevant figures are presented in Table 8.

In Kotzebue, for all achievement levels there is a direct relationship between achievement of parents and that of their children. This is quite different from the situation noted in Alakanuk. Since in Kotzebue the relationship

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[1] Ray, op. cit., pp. 140-48.

TABLE 8

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF PARENTS AND THEIR CHILDREN*

EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF CHILDREN	EDUCATION OF PARENTS BY GRADE				
	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9 and over
Grade 1-2		1 (5%)			
Grade 3-4		4 (18%)	1 (3%)	1 (6%)	
Grade 5-6		4 (18%)	5 (19%)	1 (6%)	
Grade 7-8	2 (66%)	9 (41%)	10 (39%)	3 (17%)	1 (12%)
Grade 9-10	1 (33%)	4 (18%)	8 (31%)	10 (55%)	2 (26%)
Grade 11 and over			2 (8%)	3 (17%)	5 (62%)
TOTAL	3 (100%)	22 (100%)	26 (100%)	18 (100%)	8 (100%)

*This relatively small total number of children, seventy-seven, represented the total number for which information, both for them and their parents, was available.

holds for high school as well as for the elementary school level, it appears that the mere availability of school facilities is not sufficient to explain the phenomenon.

An interesting finding was reported concerning the relationship between ethnic ancestry and school attainment. Ray found that full-blooded Eskimos did not reach as high a level of school attainment as did those whose ancestry was "mixed."[1] The figures presented in Table 9 offer an excellent opportunity to test this hypothesis since the entire population being compared lives in the same community.

The figures show that the achievement level of "mixed" Eskimo-white ancestry is higher than that of predominantly Eskimo ancestry. This can be explained in part by the higher grade attainment of the parents of children in the "mixed" category and by the fact that in such "mixed" families there generally has been closer contact with, and more knowledge of, Western civilization. Among the children of "mixed" ancestry, the desire for jobs in white society provides greater motivation to pursue education as a means of achieving this goal.

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[1] Ray, op. cit., p. 155.

TABLE 9

EDUCATION AND ETHNIC ANCESTRY*
(AGES FIFTEEN TO THIRTY-NINE)

EDUCATION	ETHNIC ANCESTRY	
	ESKIMO	ESKIMO-WHITE
Grade 1-2	5 (3%)	1 (1%)
Grade 3-4	14 (9%)	8 (8%)
Grade 5-6	34 (22%)	20 (20%)
Grade 7-8	64 (42%)	35 (34%)
Grade 9-10	29 (19%)	17 (17%)
Grade 11 and over	7 (5%)	20 (20%)
TOTAL	153 (100%)	102 (100%)

*Eskimo is defined as an individual who states that his ancestry is more than three-quarters Eskimo; Eskimo-White is defined as an individual who states that his Eskimo ancestry is three-quarters or less.

Motivation Related to Educational Achievement in Kotzebue

In dealing with the relationship between social and economic factors in Kotzebue and the motivation to pursue education, I shall follow, as far as possible, the sequence observed in the discussion of Alakanuk. This may facilitate a comparison of the two villages.

Enough has been said about the economic situation in Kotzebue to indicate that many changes have occurred there in recent years. Although the traditional activities are still very important in supplying the necessities of life, the growing desire for Western items has increased the motivation to obtain cash by wage labor. The relative abundance of construction work and the growth of private enterprises have made such opportunities increasingly available. Although some Eskimos in the village occupy full-time positions, most openings are for temporary and unskilled work. For the most part, the whites in the community occupy the skilled and steady positions and own or manage almost all the business establishments. However, there are a few cases where Eskimos or individuals of mixed Eskimo-white ancestry are engaged in various skilled or semi-skilled positions. How does this economic situation affect the motivation of the villagers to obtain an education? It is by no means easy to give a simple answer to this question; the effects are manifold and complex.

Unlike Alakanuk, the young native residents of Kotzebue are increasingly desirous of pursuing vocational goals that require skills either directly acquired in the schools or generally enhanced by education. Although such jobs are in short supply in Kotzebue itself, the fact that they exist at all in the village adds an important dimension to the reality of vocational goals. People who occupy such positions, both white and Eskimo, function as models after whom youngsters can pattern their behavior. In addition, there is opportunity for young people to learn more about current wage scales, the education and/or training prerequisites of various jobs, and the duties and responsibilities associated with them. The fact that a high proportion of natives in Kotzebue or members of their immediate families either have lived in or visited larger communities in Alaska for varying periods has added to their fund of knowledge about vocational opportunities and living conditions outside the community. Although knowledge of these aspects of "Western" life is higher in Kotzebue than in Alakanuk, there are still large gaps in the existing information, and there is a great need for job counseling and advice among younger people. Many of the adolescents in the community manifest strong curiosity, interest, and desire to learn more about these matters. My conversations with adolescents and young adults indicated that they were able to obtain little such information from the teachers in the Kotzebue school. Some informants observed that there existed scant personal and informal contact between the school staff and the townspeople. Although satisfaction concerning the competence of the teachers was expressed, there were a number of complaints about the lack of close contact with, or interest in, the community. It is interesting that in questioning thirty adolescents about their vocational aspirations, not one expressed a desire to become a teacher. After inquiring about their attitudes toward becoming teachers, the fact emerged that most of these young people perceived the teacher as a disciplinarian "who is always telling the kids what they can't do." It was apparent that they did not feel close to their teachers, nor did they seek information, which they actually desired, from them about jobs and educational opportunities. One Eskimo informant, a resident of Kotzebue and a former teacher himself, commented on this situation; he felt that this lack of information was a handicap to native youth:

> The Eskimo is dependent in some ways, and I think that he doesn't go out and apply for a job. It seems that if someone doesn't come and tell him about a job opening, he doesn't go on his own and find out about it or do something to get it. Maybe they are afraid that they can't do it, but they don't apply for it even if they want it sometimes. When they see some kind of job notice, they often don't really understand what it's all about sometimes and are afraid or shy about applying. Someone has to have some personal contact with them, I think.

There is little doubt that the growing desire for cash, especially among adolescents and the younger adults, has created a high level of interest in obtaining "regular" jobs. Most of the boys said that they preferred jobs in various phases of electrical work, radio operation and repair, carpentry, and in other skilled fields. Only a few expressed an interest in professional or even in white-collar positions. Girls most frequently expressed interest in clerical work or in practical nursing. Last year, for the first time, two native girls were employed by the local Public Health Hospital as practical nurses. Although such occupational goals are frequent, a sizeable proportion of the young people to whom I spoke expressed some ambivalence about leaving Kotzebue to live and work elsewhere after completing their education. On one hand, they said that they were attracted by life in urban centers, but at the same time they manifested positive feelings about Kotzebue and anxiety about what living "outside" would entail. Given this attitude toward migrating, many young people who either have attended Mount Edgecumbe High School for a few years or have graduated were pessimistic about their chances of utilizing their education for vocational advancement. One such graduate of Mount Edgecumbe, who felt very bitter about her present situation, said the following:

> I finished Edgecumbe. I learned secretarial work there--how to type, but not shorthand. Now I even forgot how to type. I tried to get a job when I came home, in Bullock's [Barge Company], but I was able to get a job for only two weeks at a time. I think she [Mrs. Bullock] has a white secretary. So I began to take baby-sitting jobs after awhile. I do that sometimes, but mostly I do nothing--just stay home. I think that it [i.e., graduation from high school] didn't do me much good, and it's the same for a lot of those who come back here from Edgecumbe. They have nothing to do if they are a native.

This feeling is widespread among young people who have either received a high school education or have tried to evaluate the relevance of education for obtaining work in Kotzebue. The above quotation also indicated some hostility toward whites who occupy the relatively steady and remunerative skilled positions. One educated Eskimo informant, in the course of discussing motivation for education among the villagers, stated:

> I think that one of the troubles that causes dropouts later on is that we fail to impress on either the children or on their parents the importance of education. Basically, it's because we can't show them the results. The good jobs are held by whites. There are few Eskimos they [young people] can look up to as an educated person [sic]. They don't see enough to make them want to go on and get educated. They just see that school work is hard. Most of them really don't know why it's [i.e., education] so important. They don't see where taking a job, the jobs they see around here, has anything to do with school, and they haven't seen enough of their own make good. Also, around here they see boys with less education get highly paid jobs in construction. Education isn't necessary for most of the work here, and the young people coming back [from school] see that older people with no education, or even younger ones, can get a job and they can't.

Boys expressed the desire to engage in hunting and fishing as a sport or as a means of supplementing regular income rather than as a main economic activity; a steady wage job was the ideal. Many girls actually expressed disdain for the traditional economic activities of Eskimo women. They manifested a stronger desire than boys did to migrate from the village to seek work. There are relatively few opportunities for women to obtain jobs in Kotzebue; there are few openings other than those of an unskilled, domestic nature.

Younger males have accommodated themselves to the economic situation in the village by adopting a pattern of "picking up" temporary wage work in the summer on construction jobs, in longshoring work, or through employment in one of the fish canneries to the south. In the winter, they hunt and fish occasionally and have a great deal of leisure time "just to hang around." Older people are confused and upset by what they regard as a reluctance on the part of their children to engage in traditional economic pursuits. They complain about the excessive gambling, drinking, delinquent behavior, and general improvidence of the younger generation. They recognize that their sons and daughters are progressively less inclined to "follow the Eskimo ways," and yet they are unable to see any viable alternatives for them. Young people readily expressed their disinclination to follow traditional Eskimo patterns, but they usually entertained serious doubts about their ability to support themselves in other ways. This attitude frequently resulted in discouragement and in accommodating to the situation by living from "day to day" and from "job to job." One boy currently attending Mount Edgecumbe High School described the majority of his boy friends in Kotzebue in the following manner:

> I think that most of the guys here think mainly that they will get a job in the summer in the cannery or make a few dollars longshoring, and then in the winter they will hunt a little and just bum around most of the time. There isn't too much to do. Most of them really don't want a steady job because they'd rather take it easy in the winter. "Why work hard," they say, "and get bossed around all the time when you can take the dogs out and get enough to live on without working every day?" That's the way they figure it. They want to work, but not steady.

There is an increasing "split" between the ways of life and the values of the older and younger generations. Although differences between the generations are not extreme, they are much more pronounced than at Alakanuk. These differences also affect the perception of education by the parental generation. Older parents, in particular, are inclined to attribute what they regard as negative aspects of the life patterns of the younger people to their experience at Mount Edgecumbe:

> These students, it seems, like the white man's way better. They want to go away from the lives of their parents. We know that when they come from high school, they are different . . . and the old people don't like it. They see the young people like white people. They don't like to hunt too much anymore, and the girls—all they want is to go to the movies and to run around. They don't like to stay in Kotzebue anymore. The younger parents all want their kids to go to high school. They want them to live easier. But lots of the older people feel funny about it. All they see is that it teaches them to dance and drink and not work.

Thus, older adults who have little knowledge of education feel that Mount Edgecumbe is responsible for the gulf they perceive between themselves and their children. Younger parents who are anxious for their children to obtain a high school education do not tend to blame the school for the "confusion" of the younger generation. However, they, too, sadly realize that sending their children off to high school estranges them from home and parents and often results in their migration away from the village. This was poignantly expressed by one informant:

> In general, parents feel very sad about sending their children away . . . they all say that, but more and more of them realize that education is important. If they come home before they graduate, the parents don't feel bad, because they know that if they finish Edgecumbe, then the children might have to go away from home for a job. I hear parents say that "if my child goes away for a job, it means losing him." When they come back [from Mount Edgecumbe High School or after living away from the village], we don't know them, and they don't know us. I think that most parents find that they lose intimacy with their children when they come back from Mount Edgecumbe. I think that the children feel bad because when they come back they can't put to use the things they learned, because there are very few jobs here. There are no facilities in the home or recreational facilities like in Edgecumbe. The homes are crowded here, and they become dissatisfied with conditions at home. They are used to the white ways and things, and don't have them here.

The previous discussion of Alakanuk indicated that in spite of small changes in the traditional prestige system there it was still primarily the good hunter and fisherman who was admired and respected. In Kotzebue, the situation is much more confused. Many older and middle-aged people still hold the good hunter in high esteem. However, even they recognize that positions of leadership in the community (e.g., council members and appointed officials) must be filled by the more educated men and women. Then, too, the growing importance of cash income and the gradual decline of traditional community sharing patterns have detracted considerably from the importance and prestige of the hunter's role in village life. Younger people tend to think of those with good jobs and sizeable incomes as the "important people" in Kotzebue. It is interesting that most of the people named in this "important" category were white; almost no Eskimos qualified. It is difficult to evaluate the effect of this perception of prestige on motivation to acquire an education. On one hand, the decline of prestige formerly accorded the hunter and the growing importance of individuals with education and with vocational achievement have tended to enhance education as a means of attaining prestige in Kotzebue. On the other hand, the fact that most of those who reach a high level of vocational accomplishment are white rather than native does little to instill in the young Eskimo the assurance that he can successfully compete for prestige symbols in the community. It is not easy to determine which way the scales tip; I would speculate, however, that the recent socio-economic changes described above, which are producing new symbols of prestige, are motivating Eskimo youth increasingly to view education as a means of obtaining both economic rewards and prestige within the community. If economic developments in Kotzebue do not permit the acquisition of such expected rewards, the result will be a serious disillusionment about education and/or migration from the village to other communities.

Finally, we come to the question of the ethnic identification of the residents of Kotzebue. How do they view Eskimos and the Eskimo way of life as compared to whites and the way of life associated with the dominant American culture? To what extent do the villagers accept or reject the Eskimo way of life? In the previous discussion of Alakanuk, I noted that, basically, the natives of that community had few conflicts about their ethnic identification as Eskimos. Among them there was little motivation to strive for more than some of the material benefits associated with the white world. The corresponding situation in Kotzebue is much more complex and confused. For the most part, older people regard themselves as Eskimos in the sense that they comfortably follow most of the traditional economic practices, speak the language, and have little desire to take on white ways or values. However, many of them feel that this is no longer a feasible way of life for their children. Although middle-aged parents still engage in most of the Eskimo economic activities, their desire for items that require a cash income has made them aware that their children must make their way in the white world by means of education. More and more of these parents are reconciled to, or even anxious for, their children's migration from Kotzebue to one of the larger urban centers where job opportunities are more readily available. Few of these parents reject or denigrate traditional Eskimo life, however; they place little value on physical or social mobility toward white society. Among adolescents and young adults, a deeper change is occurring. Not only are many of the young people thinking in terms of acquiring the material benefits of white society, but they also tend to look down on Eskimo language and aspects of Eskimo life. The following quotations were taken from interviews with a male student who attends Mount Edgecumbe High School during the academic year and with a girl who dropped out of Mount Edgecumbe and returned to Kotzebue two years ago:

> I want a steady job . . . I don't want to depend on cannery work or longshoring. It's not enough for me. [What do you mean, "not enough?"] Not enough money and not enough work to do. I don't like to bum around with nothing to do for half of the winter . . . I want cash to buy things instead of just living in a dirty old shack. I know too much, and I've seen too much to be dumb enough to hunt and fish.

> I think many of the girls around here would like to leave Kotzebue if they could. They say that they don't want to end up cutting seals and fish all of their lives. They'd rather live in a better way. [What do you mean, "better?"] Eat regular foods--not Eskimo food. Have groceries and a nice home instead of a shack. I lived in Fairbanks with my sister for a while and I liked it there. You can live a cleaner life there.

Although the above quotations show no definite evidence that these young people are ashamed of being Eskimos, they do indicate a rejection of many traditional Eskimo mores and a desire to obtain some status symbols of the dominant Western society; there is no longer simply a wish to acquire some additional cash to buy "things" from the Sears-Roebuck catalog. Phrases such as "dumb enough to hunt and fish" and "cleaner life" do supply some evidence that an inferior status is accorded Eskimo practices. An analysis of the stories told in response to the picture cards also shows that some white ways of life are considered "better" and "more respectable" than Eskimo ways. One card in particular which showed two Eskimo youths walking along city streets produced some stories indicating that the protagonists felt some shame because they were Eskimos and thought that white people regarded them with some disdain. Although such feelings were not pronounced, they were much more in evidence in Kotzebue than in the stories told by adolescents in Alakanuk. In a sense, the youth of Kotzebue are at a crossroad; they are thinking increasingly in terms of becoming members of the larger American society. At the same time, however, they are confused about what they should accept and reject in Eskimo culture, and they are dubious about the degree to which they will be accepted in white society. Many of them are also experiencing doubts about their ability to compete successfully in a relatively strange environment.

The Value System in Kotzebue

In spite of local variations, I found no basic differences between the value systems of Eskimos in Alakanuk and in Kotzebue. The small differences may be regarded as variations on general value themes running through Eskimo culture. Spencer notes that Eskimo groups in northern Alaska represent a "regional phrasing" of a generalized Eskimo culture.[1] In her study of Eskimo personality as revealed in their mythology, Lantis states, "Northwest Alaskan mythology compared with the Nunivak one is basically 'the same, only more so.'"[2] The small differences I was able to detect between values in the two villages, Alakanuk and Kotzebue, could be explained by variations in the economic and social life of the two communities, rather than by fundamentally diverse orientations. There is also the possibility that Alakanuk has been more influenced by southern Alaskan Indian culture. Given this situation, it would be redundant to describe the value orientations in Kotzebue in as detailed a manner as was done for Alakanuk. Instead, I shall concentrate on relevant _differences_ in Kotzebue in the six value orientations discussed for Alakanuk.

Values concerning individualistic versus familistic orientations. Familistic values are much in evidence in Kotzebue. However, the recent socio-economic changes noted on previous pages are slowly making inroads on this value orientation, producing a trend toward greater individualism. It has already been pointed out that sharing of surplus among the needy in the community or among members of the extended family is declining in Kotzebue; this is due to the greater involvement of the village in a cash economy. The natural food supply in the Kotzebue area is relatively plentiful, unlike many other Eskimo villages, and supplementary income from temporary employment or from one of the government welfare programs is available. This economic situation has reduced the dire necessity for close co-operation among members of the kin group--co-operation that is so evident in traditional Eskimo economy. The growing desire for store-purchased items also militates against strong familistic sharing patterns.

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[1] Spencer, _op_. _cit_., p. 446.

[2] Lantis, _op_. _cit_.

There are closely allied changes that encourage individualism. In the past, all Eskimos in a village had approximately equivalent material goods. One person may have had slightly more of a particular item, but, in general, everyone ate the same food, wore the same type of clothing, and had similar equipment; there was little opportunity for the satisfaction of unique wants. Today, there is a wide range of articles which can be purchased with cash. The very existence of manifold choices tends to cultivate individualistic thinking. Probably of greater importance than the numerous alternatives of material items which can be bought is the fact that heterogeneous life goals are also beginning to enter the psychological horizons of natives in the village. Today, the resident of Kotzebue can choose either to live in the community or to migrate to an urban community; he can choose either to go to school or to stay at home; he can become either a radio operator or a hunter. All of these decisions must be determined by an individual "calculus" involving an evaluation of unique preferences and talents.

In comparing the present and the past, many older informants noted that children today did not feel as strongly obligated to support parents financially in their old age. Some of those interviewed were also aware that although the expectation of support was still present the need for such parental maintenance was not as great as it once was. Younger parents said that they were becoming reconciled to the fact that their children might leave Kotzebue some day in search of work and another place to live. However, they also expected that their children would and should help them financially or return home if the family was in difficulty. A value difference between Alakanuk and Kotzebue that does stand out is that in the latter community many of the middle-aged and younger parents said that they would be reluctant to ask their children to return home from school to help the family and that they would do so only if the home situation was serious. Young people themselves feel responsible for family aid and parental support, but their feelings of obligation are much less pronounced than in the past.

In regard to the influence of familistic values on education in Kotzebue, we must consider the high rate of immigration in recent years. Many new families have come to the community in search of work and/or schooling for their children; this means that the close web of extended family kinship patterns is not present in Kotzebue to the extent that it operates in most other Eskimo villages. Because education has been an important motivating factor in this immigration, it seems reasonable to assume that family ties will not be a strong impediment to the continuation of school among residents of Kotzebue (as compared with the situation in Alakanuk). Families willing to move away from their home villages to further their children's education will also probably be more prone to send their children to high school and even to college. The data available in the 1958 Bureau of Indian Affairs school census for Kotzebue cast some light on this issue. The figures in Table 10 show that for the age group twenty to thirty-nine years old individuals born outside Kotzebue have a higher school grade achievement than do those born in the community. If it is true that education is one of the important motives for migrating to Kotzebue, then the children of parents born outside the community should have a higher school grade attainment than children of parents born there. The higher school achievement of these children indicates that those migrating into the community are probably motivated by a desire for education for their children.

In summary, it should be said that while familistic values are still strong in Kotzebue, there are definite signs of its declining potency. This value orientation does not present as formidable a hindrance to high school education in Kotzebue as it does in Alakanuk, mainly because of the economic changes taking place in Kotzebue and the increase

TABLE 10

SCHOOL GRADE ATTAINMENT BY PLACE OF BIRTH AND AGE (TWENTY TO THIRTY-NINE), 1958

SCHOOL GRADE ACHIEVEMENT	PLACE OF BIRTH	
	KOTZEBUE	OUTSIDE OF KOTZEBUE
Grade 1-4	10 (19%)	8 (9%)
Grade 5-8	53 (65%)	57 (67%)
Grade 9-12	12 (15%)	20 (24%)
TOTAL	81 (100%)	85 (100%)

of role alternatives. In addition, migration into the village has weakened the web of kinship obligations and may also tend to select individuals who are motivated to acquire an education.

Values concerning egalitarianism versus outstanding achievement. As noted in the discussion for Alakanuk, the value emphasis on egalitarianism is one of the strongest and most pervasive in Eskimo society. This fact has been frequently mentioned in ethnographic accounts. Although Kotzebue is no exception in this respect, there are differences in this village because of the relatively large population increase and also because of some of the recent economic changes that have occurred there.

One very educated Eskimo informant, who has lived in Kotzebue for many years, gave the following reasons for his village's being different from many others in its emphasis on egalitarianism:

> The average Eskimo in the old days didn't want to push himself above anyone else. That's the way it still is in some of the villages, but not in Kotzebue anymore. People acted humble in front of everyone, but here people see that some have lots more and some have less, and they know that sometimes education has lots to do with it and you can't help it. One of the reasons it's different here than in the small villages is because

> there are so many people here that everyone is in his own muddle--it's easy to get lost. Nobody knows too much what you get, so there can't be too much jealousy. Everyone knows that some people have more and some people less. That's the way. If a construction worker is skilled with his hands and is in the union, people know that he will get a job from an employer and nobody is jealous.

A few moments later, this individual, a college graduate, remarked:

> On the other hand, I have sometimes been puzzled by people taking all sorts of digs at me. They come out directly and in an angry voice say, "Well, you have college so you think that you know it all." This and other remarks like that show that there is some kind of resentment there.

Conversations with two of the teachers in the village (one being an Eskimo) confirmed the existence of the same retiring behavior in the classroom as noted for the children of Alakanuk. Eskimo children in Kotzebue do not want to appear outstanding in school, and they are subject to various negative sanctions if they do perform far above the average. This feeling was confirmed by two students to whom I spoke who were still attending grade school.

Among adults, this value evidences itself in the area of supervisor-employee relationships. Two of the largest employers of Eskimo labor, who have resided in Kotzebue for many years, made categorical statements about the resentment of Eskimo employees toward supervisors of their own ethnic group. Both of these individuals were able to provide concrete instances where personnel difficulty arose because employees felt that one of their "own" was "trying to act better than us."

Although no gross income differences exist among natives of the community, the description of economic changes indicates that income differences, as well as mode of obtaining a living, are beginning to emerge. Obviously, a skilled electrician or a full-time government employee has a greater cash income than do most other individuals. Although resentment toward wealthier families is apparent in local gossip, people are becoming reconciled to the fact that such variations exist and will even continue to grow. Many villagers who feel that white traders in Kotzebue frequently exploit the Eskimos condone the fact that some of their fellow Eskimos are opening small business establishments or are beginning to sell their surplus fish. Although such practices have no sanction in traditional Eskimo life, they are being increasingly accepted, especially by younger people, as part of the "new" way of living. Such individual attempts to "get ahead" are given conditional sanction as long as the person does not try to act like "a big shot."

Although it is not possible to speak with certainty about what direct effects this relatively small change in the value emphasis in Kotzebue will have upon motivation for education, it is obvious that the horizons of young people there have been broadened to include the possibilities and desires of obtaining more material benefits and of living "better" than others. To the extent that the economic system will permit the utilization of skills learned in school for the acquisition of good jobs, the decline of egalitarianism will, no doubt, be associated with a receptivity toward education.

Values concerning respect for the integrity of the individual. The operation of this value is virtually the same in Kotzebue as in Alakanuk. In Kotzebue, as in Alakanuk, there is remarkably little communication between parents and children about such matters as continuing or terminating schooling, educational and occupational goals, etc. If parents do not have money enough to send their child to high school, or if they want him to remain at home to help the family in some way, this feeling is communicated. However, if they feel that their child should continue school, they make little or no effort to convince him to do so. Those young people who are attending school seldom talk to their parents about the kind of work they will seek when they leave school. As previously mentioned, lack of communication in this area is just one instance of a more generalized and extensive communication problem between parents and children. Communication between parents and older children deals mainly with matters of current practical concern. Even some of the more educated and culturally sophistocated Eskimos are aware that communication of intimate feelings, conflicts, desires, and future goals is not usual between Eskimo parents and children. One such informant, who had completed his college education, told me that his son had dropped out of Mount Edgecumbe High School without discussing the matter with his parents or without asking their advice. Although this had occurred about a year before and was a source of disappointment to this father, he still did not know the reasons underlying his son's choice. He was painfully aware of this lack of communication, and he attempted to explain it in the following manner:

> No, he didn't tell us. I don't know why, but in the Eskimo race it isn't common for boys and girls to talk with their parents about such things. [What kinds of things?] About education, or any personal problems

> that they have. Maybe it's because they [the children] think that parents don't have much time for that . . . but I think it's more than that. It's a kind of fatalism . . . whatever comes, comes. They figure that's the way it's got to be anyway so what's the use of wasting time talking about it? It's an old Eskimo philosophy to make the best of it. Maybe it's because Eskimo life is day by day. The time comes to go fishing and you go fishing. Then the time comes to go out hunting and you just go. Everything comes according to how life was lived all the time and everyone does it.

This is an interesting statement insofar as this informant not only showed awareness of the nature of communication between parents and children, but also related it to aspects of Eskimo culture mentioned previously in this paper. He saw this aspect of the parent-child relationship as an outgrowth of "fatalism,"[1] the emphasis on immediate problems as opposed to long-range goals, and the relative lack of role alternatives present in Eskimo life. Under such conditions, discussion of inner feelings or conflicts or of long-range goals becomes largely academic and superfluous.

If there has been any change at all in this value of respecting the integrity of the child to decide many issues for himself, with no parental pressure, it has been more an increased awareness and consciousness among the

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[1] See the discussion of value for Alakanuk, p. 141, ff.

Eskimos of this aspect of their culture than a marked change in overt behavior. This growing awareness of Eskimo parents in Kotzebue is related to changes in their lives which necessitate more direct parental guidance of children and more extensive communication about future alternatives. As Eskimos become more involved in the larger society around them, parents are beginning to question and to become dissatisfied with the extremely non-coercive relationships characteristic of Eskimo culture in the past. This idea emerged clearly in the statement of an Eskimo woman resident of Kotzebue who was a member of the council and of the Chamber of Commerce. She, too, was disturbed by the fact that both her son and daughter had dropped out of school without discussing their reasons or asking her advice:

> I sometimes get after my husband and tell him to talk to the children more about things like that, but he don't [sic]. He talks to the boys about hunting and how to fish, but not about their future. He says he can't see any sense to it. Children do what they want to do when they become older. That's what he did when he was a boy. I noticed that white people sit down and talk to their young people more than us . . . saying things like, "If you want to become a nurse, you should marry so and so," or "If you want to do this, you should get an education." I don't know why Eskimos don't do that.

There is little doubt that as parents acquire more experience with schools and wage jobs they will take a more direct role in guiding their children's careers. Also, as education achieves more than the peripheral value of "being smart," parents will exert more direct pressure on the child to attend school regularly and to perform well. In the present situation, parents seldom apply effective pressure on their children to remain in school or advise them about the potential advantages of education for their future lives.

Among the students of Kotzebue, there exists a strong negative reaction toward what they perceive as the rigid and harsh discipline at the Mount Edgecumbe high school. As in Alakanuk, the strength of this reaction is due partly to the Eskimo value placed on the integrity of the individual and on non-coercive interpersonal relations he has hitherto experienced. In Kotzebue, this attitude is even stronger and more pervasive than at Alakanuk. This is due not only to the fact that more students in Kotzebue have attended and are attending Mount Edgecumbe, but also because they are more prone to express their anger overtly. Almost all the students with whom I spoke complained of being "watched and bossed" constantly and of being treated as children in school. Such treatment was incompatible with their views of themselves as young adults capable of making decisions. As explained above, young Eskimo children and adolescents are given great latitude in the area of decision making. Consequently, students were unhappy with their school social life and, for the most part, felt unable to talk to teachers about problems or to ask advice about future goals.

Values concerning concrete versus abstract thinking. In regard to differences in the Eskimo's propensity for concrete rather than abstract thinking, there was very little variation between Alakanuk and Kotzebue. Most of the white clergymen and teachers to whom I spoke in Kotzebue were strongly convinced that the Eskimo is unable to think abstractly. One teacher gave many specific examples of the difficulty Eskimo students experienced in coping with the more abstract parts of the curriculum, particularly mathematics. A few of the clergymen based their opinions on what they regarded as the Eskimo's inability to comprehend Christian theology and his difficulty in verbalizing personal problems; interviews with parents and adolescents confirmed the Eskimos' emphases on expression of current, practical affairs rather than of emotions and intimate feelings. The preceding statements of Eskimo parents indicated that some of them were aware of this communication problem. This evidence leads me to believe that the relatively scant communication of abstract ideas among the Eskimos is more than a result of a mere language barrier.

Another source of evidence relevant to the problem of concrete versus abstract thinking among residents of Kotzebue emerged from a perusal of the stories told by approximately thirty adolescents in response to picture cards shown them. Although no careful statistical analysis and comparison was made of the stories told in Alakanuk and in Kotzebue, it seemed that the stories told in the latter village had a more complex plot construction and showed more concern with the motivations and emotions of the human characters. Still another interesting fact emerged from the use of this psychological instrument. After giving the subjects careful instructions, I permitted them to tell their stories with little or no interruption. When this spontaneous production was completed, attempts were made to have the subjects "fill in" missing details (i.e., the motives, emotional reactions, etc. of the actors). This task was difficult for adolescents of both villages, but particularly so for Alakanuk residents. It should be noted that although the age range was similar for subjects of both villages, on the whole, those from Kotzebue had reached a higher school grade level. This fact complicates any generalization about the relative ability to engage in abstract thinking in the two communities. It should also be noted that these stories told by adolescents in Kotzebue showed less concern with motives and affect and far simpler plot construction than the usual Thematic Apperception Test stories produced by a comparable group of middle-class students in American society.

Values concerning temporal orientation; emphasis on present versus future time. During interviews with both whites and Eskimos in Kotzebue, spontaneous observations by the people interviewed illustrated the lack of future time orientation among the Eskimos. Perhaps the frequency of such observations, indicating a heightened awareness of this cultural attribute, is in itself a sign that it is in the process of changing. One Eskimo informant attributed the lack of emphasis on future goals to an attitude of fatalism in Eskimo culture (page 141, ff.):

> That's one thing about Eskimos; we don't talk about the future with our children. We seem to let things just come along--not like the whites. [Why?] I don't know. Maybe the Eskimo always feels that he can't do anything about it anyway. What comes will come and you might as well try to make the best of it.

This is actually a very sophistocated explanation of the pehnomenon. As explained in the discussion of this value in Alakanuk (page 141,ff.) the harsh and unpredictable conditions under which the Eskimos have lived through the years have given rise to some feelings of resignation and fatalism. Under these circumstances, they have felt that striving for long-range future goals would be futile.

A prominent member of the business community in Kotzebue said that as soon as Eskimos have built up a slight savings account they will withdraw almost all of it and spend it "unwisely:"

> I've seen people come in here begging for a loan, and then I go out in Archie's and see them gambling. As soon as they make some money, they spend it. Most of them have no idea of saving or holding on to money.

I was interested to see whether I could detect any significant changes in the temporal orientation of the younger generation in the village. Adolescent boys and girls made frequent statements about future goals and plans, most of which revolved around vocational aspirations.

Compared to Alakanuk, the residents of Kotzebue definitely showed a greater tendency to speak about the future. However, they also exhibited a glaring lack of information on how these plans would be implemented. How much of this paucity of information can be attributed to a lack of concern with future goals is difficult to determine accurately. At this point, it is pertinent to note that the stories told in Kotzebue in response to the picture cards displayed more indications of long-range goal attainment than did those told in Alakanuk (e.g., "he became an aviator"); however, there were relatively few statements made about striving for goal attainment (e.g., "he studied or worked hard to become . . ."). From the available evidence, I have concluded that, while long-range goals are entering more and more upon the conscious horizons of the young people in Kotzebue, there is little comparable concern among them about the means of attaining such goals. It would be erroneous to conclude that this disparity between goals and means indicates that the former are merely unimportant epiphenomena. Concern over the future is "real" and meaningful to an increasing number of young Eskimos. However, the combination of a lack of the personality skills involved in scheduling and planning and a genuine need for information on how to attain distant goals partly accounts for the lack of emphasis on the requisite efforts and planning.

Still another consideration closely related to the quality of the temporal orientation of Kotzebue youth is the job situation in the community. As explained previously, the vast majority of available jobs are temporary and do not offer higher rewards or opportunities for advancement to those with more education; for the most part, they are unskilled positions which arise unpredictably from time to time. On the "outside" the native construction worker is also faced with high unemployment and seasonal employment. Many of those who have worked outside the village and who are unacquainted with union seniority rules feel that they have been discriminated against. As a result, most of the young people alternate between traditional economic pursuits and work on a variety of unskilled jobs arising from time to time. This employment picture serves to discourage long-range planning and orientation toward the future.

The differences in the meaningfulness of verbalized long-range goals in Alakanuk and Kotzebue are evident in the diverse amounts of disorganization among the young people in these two villages. In Alakanuk, adolescents and young adults will frequently say that they think they should have continued their education, but, for the most part, these individuals appear to be well adjusted to their lives and positions in the community. In Kotzebue, there is much more evidence of confusion and disillusionment among the young people, who want more than they feel they will be able to achieve.

Values concerning active mastery versus fatalism. I was able to gather no evidence in Kotzebue different from the points raised in the previous discussion of basic Eskimo attitudes of fatalism (page 141, ff.). As in Alakanuk, the residents of Kotzebue spoke with obvious pride about their hunting and fishing skills. However, further conversation usually elicited statements about memories of "bad years" when there was nothing to do but tighten one's belt and accept the situation. Informants frequently commented that in such a crisis there would be no use complaining, but, unlike Alakanuk, Kotzebue residents told relatively fewer stories of starvation and, in general, stories on this subject seemed less charged with affect. The more plentiful game resources in this region plus the availability of some wage jobs probably accounts for this difference in outlook. However, there was little variation in the two villages in regard to attitudes of fatalism versus active mastery.

This discussion would be incomplete without considering the feelings of young people in Kotzebue about the new areas of aspiration: educational and vocational achievements. Although there is a growing feeling among these young people of somehow "living better" by obtaining an education and by getting a steady job, they also entertain many doubts about their ability to compete with whites either in the educational or vocational fields. This impression was confirmed by the white teachers and clergymen of Kotzebue as well as by two Eskimo teachers.[1] I was informed time and again of the Eskimo student's failure to persist with any academic problem he could not immediately solve. One might speculate that such behavior indicates that the Eskimo student considers classroom achievement unimportant, and it is thus incapable of eliciting sustained efforts. While this is partly true, my interviews with students indicated that it is not the complete answer. Many students readily admitted that they and their friends often felt inadequate in school and were disheartened by the difficulty of the work. I was told that many dropouts at the high school level stemmed from students' feelings of inadequacy and lack of confidence to deal effectively with the curriculum. In general, the young Eskimo's image of himself as a student involves large elements of devaluation and inferiority. In such a situation, it is understandable that he lacks feelings of mastery that would motivate him to overcome the learning obstacles. The manner in which teachers deal with Eskimo students in the early grades may contribute to their devalued self-images.

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[1] One of these individuals is currently teaching in Kotzebue; the other is a retired teacher who resides there.

HOONAH

The Community

The Tlingit Indian village of Hoonah is located on the northeast coast of Chichagof Island, forty miles west of Juneau, in the southeastern part of Alaska. It is about twenty miles south of the community of Excursion Inlet to which village many Hoonah residents migrate during the summer fishing season. Hoonah is located at the foot of a mountainous area which plunges sharply down to the shoreline.

The waters of Icy Strait adjacent to the community provide a rich source of fish all year. The district is part of a mountainous archipelago covered largely by dense pine and spruce forests. Due to heavy rainfall and relatively mild climate, the vegetation in the region is both lush and varied. During August, 1961, the temperature averaged sixty to seventy degrees Farenheit. In the winter there is relatively little snow and the thermometer seldom drops far below the freezing point.

Hoonah extends for about one mile along the shore of a comparatively calm inland bay that is ice free for the entire year. With minor variations, the homes are arranged regularly along three parallel streets extending up a hill from the store. Both the regularity of the streets and the relative uniformity of the houses in the community are due to the fact that almost the entire village was rebuilt with government surplus homes after a large fire in the early 1940's. Most of these homes are of frame construction with three to five rooms, indoor plumbing facilities, and oil stoves for heat and are relatively well furnished. A few of the more aesthetically-minded residents have painted their homes, which adds color and variation to the otherwise uniform, but by no means impoverished, appearance of the town. It is interesting that before the fire which destroyed almost all the structures in the community, the population of Hoonah, with few exceptions, lived in large communal dwellings which housed ten to fifteen families of the same clan. Although all these families shared one structure, each nuclear family had its own living space, its own possessions, and maintained its own housekeeping. Mainly because of the younger people's dissatisfaction with the lack of privacy in these large dwellings, it was decided to construct individual family homes after the fire. At present there are approximately 125 such homes in the community.

At either end of the village are wharfs which provide docking facilities and boats and on which agents sell oil and fuel to the fishing fleet. There are three general stores in the village; one is owned by a fish packing firm, and the others by two local families. The other business establishments are a newly-constructed hotel, a small store which sells luggage, and a coffeehouse open in the evenings. Movies are shown almost every night of the week in either of the two movie theaters. At one end of town, there is a small community medical clinic, staffed by a half-time resident nurse. Adjacent to the clinic is a large building belonging to the Alaska Native Brotherhood; this structure is used for showing movies and for dances and other gatherings.

According to the 1960 United States Census, the population of Hoonah is 686.[1] Of this number, twenty to thirty are whites and a sizeable proportion are various degrees of Tlingit-Caucasian mixture. The number of white families in Hoonah began to increase about two years ago when the White Alice Radar Site was constructed. Since there was no housing provided on this project, ten to fifteen white employees and their families took up residence in Hoonah. Contrary to the population increase in Alakanuk and Kotzebue, the population of Hoonah has actually been declining over the past few decades. In 1939, there were 716 residents; this number was down to 563 by 1950. Local people explain this by noting the migration, especially of younger people, from the village with the decline of fishing and the closing of a fish cannery formerly located there.

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[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Number of Inhabitants, Alaska, p. 10.

This migration is reflected in the fact that only 23 per cent of the entire population is in the age group twenty to thirty-nine (compared with 31 per cent in this age group in Alakanuk). On the other hand, the combination of a high birth rate and the reduction of child mortality has resulted in a very high proportion of young people in Hoonah; approximately 54 per cent of the entire population is under age twenty. Such a proportion places a considerable strain on the economically productive members of the community.

Transportation from Hoonah to some of the larger population centers such as Sitka and Juneau is relatively good. Daily planes go to and from Juneau and there are other flights to some of the smaller communities. Travel by boat to Juneau is not a difficult undertaking. Although there have not been many white residents in Hoonah until recently, the village for a long period has had close contact with Russian and American settlers and with government officials. Hoonah's propinquity to relatively large white population centers such as Juneau and Sitka has also resulted in a high level of intercourse with white civilization. In recent years, many of the young people have been obtaining employment in these cities or along the West

Coast of the United States, and they have been periodically going back and forth between the village and place of employment. During the summer months, many boats with white crews stop at Hoonah for supplies; this provides another source of frequent contact between the whites and Indians.

Although the village has been supplied with electric power for a long period, a new power plant was installed last year and a modern telephone system last summer. Facilities for supplying water and for disposal of sewage exist, but improvements are being anticipated for the near future. A major handicap to community improvement is that so much property is not taxable for local purposes under existing federal legislation.

Economic subsistence patterns. Hoonah is, and historically has been, primarily a fishing community. The major occupation of all but a few of its adult male inhabitants is seining. Work in fish processing establishments provides a supplementary source of cash income for many of the families of the village. Non-cash food resources are provided by the richly endowed surrounding waters and forests.

In the early spring, most of the economic activities revolve around preparations for the coming fishing season. Most of the men are employed in repairing the boats and seines until sometime in May when the commercial fishing season opens. There are about twenty boats in the Hoonah fishing fleets. Some of these are owned outright by the Pelican Packing Company, which is located twenty miles from Hoonah at Excursion Inlet; however, most boats are owned by individual boat captains but are heavily mortgaged. Usually these captains depend on credit from the Pelican Packing Company to finance their operations for the forthcoming season. Earnings from the sale of salmon, halibut, and other fish are divided into equal shares. Each crew member (a crew consists of from five to eight men plus the captain) receives one share and two shares each are reserved for the boat and the seine. These go to the captain as compensation for the expenses he incurs for purchases, repairs, etc. Some of the young boys, who are less-than-accomplished fishermen, receive one-half or three-quarters of a share. In a good season, this allows most of the young boys attending high school to earn a considerable amount of cash during summer vacation. During the summer of 1961, which was an exceptionally good season, a regular crew member on a fishing boat could earn four to eight thousand dollars for the four month period. However, the last comparable season was in 1949. Except for a few seasons since that time, the men have been earning low incomes, ranging from a few hundred to about three thousand dollars. Since there are only very limited opportunities to earn additional income in Hoonah during the remainder of the year, the decline of cash earnings from fishing has been very discouraging to the villagers and is regarded as the major reason for the migration of young people.

Two additional sources of cash income during the fishing season are provided by the operation of the fish processing plant at Excursion Inlet and the crab canning plant in Hoonah. Soon after the fish cannery closed down in Hoonah, approximately ten years ago, it was reopened at Excursion Inlet. Since then it has been the practice for a number of families to move there for the duration of the fishing season; according to informants about thirty women and ten men from the village are employed there from May until October. Women earn a thousand dollars or more during this period. The crab plant in the community employs thirty-five to forty workers during this period (mostly women), and earnings range from about fifteen dollars to a high of thirty dollars per day. There are also some small logging camps close by that provide work for a few men, but only for a limited period of the year. For the past few years, some construction work connected with the neighboring radar site was also available for some of the men; however, new construction on this project has been terminated.

After the summer, a few fishermen may seek work as crew members on boats fishing in other areas; others leave to work in the neighboring communities of Juneau and Sitka. For the majority of the men remaining in Hoonah, the fall season is a time for hunting birds, deer, and other small mammals. Meat is frozen and stored and provides some food resources during the winter months. Hand trolling for fish from small boats is also practiced to a limited extent in the waters adjacent to the community. Various species of berries are plentiful in the fall. For the most part, however, the winter provides limited opportunities for economic activities. As a result, heavy reliance is placed on income from unemployment compensation and from various welfare programs administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the state government. As expected, welfare payments are at a low during the summer months and mount steadily until early spring. Last year, a state work relief project for depressed communities was initiated in Hoonah. The social worker of the Bureau of Indian Affairs informed me that welfare relief was practically unknown in the early 1940's when fishing was at its peak. Last year, sixty-three families (involving 213 persons) received some sort of financial relief from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It is estimated that during the winter 45 to 50 per cent of the families in Hoonah receive relief either from the state government or from the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

In summary, it should be noted that, although the absolute cash income *per capita* in this community far exceeds that of Alakanuk or Kotzebue, there is greater *relative* financial deprivation in Hoonah, because in this village reliance on cash for purchasing food, clothing, furniture, and luxury items is much greater. It also appears that expenditures for alcoholic beverages are high in Hoonah and that they constitute a considerable drain on the existing limited income.

Social organization. One of the outstanding aspects of the social organization of Hoonah is the existence of a class system. This is not nearly as sharply defined today as it was in traditional Tlingit society. Then, there was a "nobility," a large group of "commoners," and slaves and outcasts at the bottom of the status hierarchy. Class (or perhaps caste) position in Tlingit society was governed by genealogical criteria, and upward mobility was possible only by marriage to someone of higher genealogical position. Although many changes have occurred in recent years, native informants in Hoonah still identified three classes of people in the community. There was fairly strong consensus about the characteristics of the following three groups:

Upper class: Such terms as "high class people" are frequently used when speaking about some of the wealthier boat captains and business men of the community. It is also true that the more prominent captains usually have important genealogical positions within the clan system. Some of the families that own business establishments are heavily mixed with Caucasians and do not have high clan positions but are, nevertheless, placed in this group. During interviews, there was considerable variation of opinion concerning the position of the few people who did occupy such important clan positions but who had little money. People in the upper class frequently, but not in all cases, sponsor or partake in clan potlatches and contribute considerable amounts of money to community projects. These individuals are not, of course, recipients of government relief.

Middle class: This group includes a majority of the population who are described as "average" or "common" people. For the most part, the men in this group are members of fishing crews and do not have as much money as those in the group above them. Although families in this group are frequently forced to accept relief, there is some shame associated with this necessity. As their position implies, these people are neither very high nor very low in financial or clan status, but they are usually involved in clan potlatches and contribute toward them.

Lower class: Perhaps as many as 15 to 20 per cent of the families in the village are described as "not caring about anything" and "living from day to day."

These individuals are not usually invited to clan ceremonies. In terms of their financial positions, they are not necessarily "poor," but comments are made about the manner in which they utilize their incomes. These are people who drink a great deal, who are not interested in providing funds for their children's education, whose family lives are disorganized, and who are not overly concerned either with their own appearance or that of their children. They feel little or no shame in accepting relief and are regularly dependent on such funds.

This rather brief outline of the class system in the community requires some qualifying and explanatory remarks. Money is most often a concomitance of upper-class position. Old people, however, tend to give more weight to clan position when determining class status. An increasing number of younger people feel that ability to deal with the white world (education, ability to speak English well, experience in urban centers, etc.) is a more important standard of class position. The present mayor of Hoonah, who is rapidly becoming one of the most important leaders in the community, embodies all these criteria for upper-class status. A second point to be noted in this discussion of class position is that there are no sharply marked class lines insofar as everyday social interaction is concerned. A few middle-class informants, however, did say that people in the upper class tended to visit among themselves and that they didn't "just drop in on people like us for a visit."

Potlatch ceremonials, which take place mostly in the autumn and winter, have neither the economic nor social importance they had in former times, but they still do retain considerable meaning in community life. The pooling of resources in potlatch ceremonials provides funds for situations such as burials and other crises where large expenditures are necessary. The ability to give away relatively large sums of money also enables individuals to acquire or reaffirm their status position in the community. Then, too, the rich ceremonial details, the dancing and singing, and the festive interaction provide important sources of community recreation and entertainment. Recently, a potlatch ceremony was held in Hoonah in order to end a feud between prominent leaders in two of the clans.

The village is governed by an elected town council and a mayor. There are also a city clerk and a policeman who aid in the performance of civic functions. As stated previously, education and experience in the "outside world" are rapidly becoming important criteria for such formal leadership positions. Of the three churches in the community, Presbyterian, Russian Orthodox, and Salvation Army, the Presbyterian has the largest congregation. However, none of the churches has a very active congregation, and Christianity does not play an important part in the life of the community. The Alaska Native Brotherhood has had a chapter in Hoonah for many years. The members perform various civic functions, such as sponsoring social events, helping needy cases, and providing scholarship funds for students.

In the village, frequent complaints are heard about the relative lack of recreational activities, especially during winter months. At this time many of the young people leave the village to work or to attend school. Mention has already been made of the potlatch ceremonials, the nightly movies, and the social events sponsored mainly by the Alaska Native Brotherhood. Two basketball teams have been organized by one of the local school teachers, and this activity has become an important recreational outlet. The short distance to Juneau enables Hoonah residents to visit friends and family members there from time to time. Drinking parties, which are reputed to be given frequently during the winter months, provide another source of entertainment for villagers.

Schooling and education. I acquired little information about the history of educational facilities in Hoonah. Apparently, in the past the village had a school operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and another under the aegis of the Territory of Alaska. Soon after the fire in the 1940's, the school was placed under the control and direction of the community of Hoonah itself. Funds for its operation were, and still are, provided by state and federal sources. A few years ago, an additional school building with modern facilities was built. One year ago, school authorities decided that Hoonah should have the ninth grade in the local school. During the current year, a tenth grade will be instituted. Mount Edgecumbe High School will now accept only students in the eleventh and twelfth grades from Hoonah. Last year, there were approximately two hundred students attending the Hoonah school. In this group, the average number of grades retarded was seventy-seven hundredths. No exact figures were obtained on the number of students attending high school. However, for the academic year 1957 it is estimated that almost fifty Hoonah students were attending either a high school or a junior college. Unlike the previous villages described in this report, almost all students from Hoonah continue beyond the elementary school grades into high school and, in some cases, into college. In addition to Mount Edgecumbe High School, quite a few students from Hoonah attend the Sheldon Jackson High School in Sitka. The latter institution enjoys more prestige in the community than Mount Edgecumbe High School does. Those families who are most concerned about their children's education and who can afford the tuition try to send them to Sheldon Jackson. This preference is not based on academic criteria but on the feeling that Sheldon Jackson provides a better moral atmosphere for the student and also that this institution makes a greater effort than Mount Edgecumbe to place its students in jobs. However, despite these preferences, the prevailing feelings in Hoonah toward Mount Edgecumbe are mainly positive.

Motivation Related to Educational Achievement in Hoonah

In considering the motivation for schooling in the two preceding Eskimo communities, it was seen that economic factors were an important determinant of motivation. How does this situation compare with that in Hoonah? In Hoonah, economic activities revolve almost completely around the traditional activities of fishing. Formal education has little relevance for economic achievement in such an occupational setting. In this respect, Hoonah is similar both to Alakanuk and Kotzebue. However, a further examination of Hoonah indicates that the similarities between it and the other two communities are far outweighed by important differences.

First, although Hoonah itself is a fishing community, it has been in very close contact with white urban centers such as Juneau for a long period. Many of its inhabitants have lived in or visited such places as Juneau, Sitka, Seattle, and other locations in the United States for varying periods during their lives. They or their relatives have worked in these areas; they have had ample opportunity to learn about life outside their village and to acquire a wish for many of the material and non-material aspects of the Western world. The propinquity of the village to educational institutions such as Mount Edgecumbe and Sheldon Jackson has also enabled a sizeable proportion of its population to attend high school and even centers of higher learning. As a result, in recent years Hoonah has been increasingly "exporting" young people who are working both in the skilled manual trades and in white-collar positions. The active movement of people from Hoonah to white communities has meant that even fishermen are relatively well acquainted with the nature and range of occupations on the "outside" and are also aware of the relevance of education as a vocational prerequisite. At the same time, this movement has caused Hoonah residents to develop new aspirations for themselves or for their children. The first factor, then, that differentiates Hoonah from the other two villages, Alakanuk and Kotzebue, is that its geographical location has involved its residents in white society to a far greater extent.

A second factor is that in the Eskimo communities discussed previously economic existence was usually marginal, and it provided for little or no economic resources beyond those necessary for survival. Until recently, the situation in Hoonah has been very different. The rich fishing grounds in the area have enabled the villagers to acquire the economic means to travel, to purchase luxury items, and to send their children to school. Thus, not only has the geographical location of the village created the opportunity and the desire to participate in white society and enjoy its rich material culture, but also its economy has provided the means to fulfill these needs. The conservation regulations in the district have confined commercial fishing to the summer months; thus, the economic activities of these people are concentrated into a period when schools are closed. Winter is a time of relatively little economic importance to these commercial fishermen. Therefore, the engagement in subsistence activities does not conflict with school attendance; there is comparatively little need for youngsters of school age to help their families during the winter months. In contrast to this situation, the activities that are necessary to the life of the Eskimo communities are more evenly distributed over the entire year. This factor, plus the marginal subsistence of the Eskimos, makes the help of young Eskimos imperative.[1]

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[1] The rather low level of grade retardation in Hoonah compared to that of the Eskimo villages can be partly explained by this point.

The relatively high standard of living provided by commercial fishing activities has been a double-edged sword in its influence on the motivation to attend high school. On one hand, it has allowed a high level of contact with white society and has stimulated needs for manufactured goods. On the other hand, the fact that one could be economically successful without higher education dampened the drive to continue schooling beyond the elementary school level. With the decline of fishing in the area during the 1940's, this situation was changed. Young people and their parents became keenly aware that fishing did not provide a stable and secure means of satisfying their needs and aspirations. Today, the people of Hoonah very frequently express the attitude that fishing is a "gamble" and does not provide for economic security. Such feelings are equally prevalent among adolescents and the parental generation. The quotation below is taken from a conversation with a boy about sixteen years old; it is typical of these attitudes:

> What most of us want more than anything is a steady job, so we will know where we are going to get the things we need from one year to the next. With fishing, you never know. One year you might have something left over, and the next few years you have to borrow money

> and go into debt in order to feed your family. That's no way to live. Don't get me wrong . . . most every one of us here likes fishing . . . it's in our blood . . . but we don't want to have to depend on it all of our lives. It's like playing poker; you never know if you are going to win or lose.

Many of my informants who depended on fishing for a livelihood said that they were "stuck," but that they wanted "something better" for their children. Among the Hoonah residents there is a generally pessimistic outlook on the future of commercial fishing and its ability to enable them to attain their desired standard of living.

Hoonah's long-standing close contact with surrounding white communities and its high exposure to the mass media of communication (radio, magazines, movies, newspapers, etc.) has been leading to feelings that "there is nothing to do in Hoonah," and "it's dead here, especially in the winter time." The fact that the community provides few opportunities for organized recreation contributes to the motivation of young people to settle in other places. Although clan potlatch ceremonials occur fairly often, quite a few of the young people are no longer interested in participating. This situation is aggravated by the fact that many leave the community in the winter, either to attend school or to search for work in neighboring settlements. This dissatisfaction with community social and recreational outlets, coupled with the undependable nature of commercial fishing in recent years, accounts for the prevalent desires of young people to settle away from Hoonah. Education and vocational training are viewed as means of successfully competing in white society.

In a previous section, it was noted that the prestige system in a community is intimately related to the motivation to acquire education. If an individual can obtain prestige and the respect of his peers without education, his motivation for schooling will be minimal. How does the prestige system of Hoonah operate in this regard? In traditional Tlingit society, prestige was theoretically determined by one's genealogical position in the clan system. Even though an individual succeeded in accumulating a considerable amount of money in his lifetime, he could not elevate his position in the clan. However, it was possible to insure a more elevated status for one's nephew[1] by arranging for his marriage to a girl of "noble" lineage. This meant that high position in the clan system usually went hand in hand with wealth. In effect, then, the traditional Tlingit class system had strong caste overtones which granted high status only to a few and which relegated the majority to lesser positions; furthermore, status mobility was difficult to achieve. Economic conditions today make it unlikely that an individual can accumulate enough wealth to purchase his own boat or to open a business in the community. This rather constricted channel of prestige has resulted in young people's looking outside the community for satisfaction of their status needs. Thus, educational and vocational success provides an alternate channel of prestige for the younger generation. Now there are two sorts of prestige role models operative in the community: on one hand, there are the important boat captains and a few business men, who are also associated with high clan lineages. Then, there is an emerging group of younger men who have obtained a higher education and who occupy skilled manual positions or white-collar government jobs in outside communities; these individuals are the recipients of considerable prestige. Although they live outside Hoonah, they frequently return to the village, and their success is a very lively topic of gossip. Two individuals in this group of college educated young men have actually returned to Hoonah to live, and they hold skilled positions in the community. One is a teacher in the Hoonah school, and the other is in charge of the recently installed telephone system. One of the outstanding differences between the two Eskimo villages and Hoonah is that in the Eskimo communities those young men and women who were adjusting successfully to the white world ceased to feel closely connected to their village and did not function as role models for the younger students. As indicated above, this is not as true in Hoonah. This fact has had a salutary effect on the motivation for acquiring a formal education.

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[1] See page 230, paragraph 2.

Another factor that influences motivation for education in Hoonah is the ethnic identity of the Tlingit Indian. Unlike the Eskimo, many Tlingits were remarkably sensitive about being "Indians in a white world" which was often viewed as being patronizing or unfriendly. Although this subject requires more definitive research, a few of my conversations in the community indicated that underlying this sensitivity were strong feelings of ambivalence about ethnic status. Many Tlingits were inclined to protest their equality with whites and their hostility toward whites for practicing discrimination, while many others, young adults and adolescents, expressed admiration for white ways and desires to emulate white customs. Although ambivalence about their ethnic status was frequently manifested, it appeared that the direction of the "pull" was toward white culture. While such a "whiteward mobility" usually provides an impetus for acquiring education and job training, it also occasionally results in hurt feelings, in a "reaction away" from white society, and in a reaffirmation of Tlingit practices. Although this attitude is not as prevalent among the younger generation as it tends to be among many of the older adults, its existence is not too uncommon.

The Value System in Hoonah

Values concerning individualistic versus familistic orientations. Among the Tlingits, the emphasis on individualistic behavior is much stronger than it is among the Eskimos. Although familistic and communalistic values do exist in Hoonah to some extent, they are attenuated compared to those in Alakanuk or in Kotzebue. The seed of this individualistic value orientation in Hoonah lies in the traditional Tlingit clan organization. Unlike the relative status uniformity in Eskimo communities, the Indian community was characterized by a variety of clans and family lineages arranged hierarchically according to status position. This heterogeneity made for a system of cross-cutting loyalties and identifications within the community, rather than with the community. In addition, an individual's clan affiliations extended beyond the village to clan "brothers" in other areas. At this level, the Tlingits held affiliations and co-operative responsibilities with a group more abstract and impersonal than the individual family or extended family of Eskimo society. Tlingit clan affiliations and joint ceremonials with individuals in a series of scattered villages required close interpersonal relationships with many persons outside the small, isolated community. One might say that the psychological vistas of the Tlingits extended far beyond the individual nuclear family or home community.

The emphasis on individuality and the lack of strong familistic values among the Tlingit Indians is also related to the position of the family within the clan organization. In the past, the individual nuclear family was not the central organizational pivot for economic co-operation or for inheritance. A boy aged twelve or thirteen left his immediate family and went to live in the clan house of his maternal uncle. The boy's economic responsibilities and major loyalties were then toward members of his uncle's clan and not to his father's clansmen among whom he lived as a youngster. It was from his uncle, not from his biological father, that the boy learned the economic and social requirements of adulthood and from whom he inherited property.

The relative lack of emphasis on the individual family in traditional Tlingit society was also reflected in the fact that this unit did not occupy a separate dwelling but shared a large clan house with ten to fifteen other families. Such large clan houses existed in Hoonah until 1945 when the village was destroyed by a fire. Further evidence on this individualistic rather than familistic or communalistic orientation is supplied by Krause in his classic study of the Tlingits, made in the Nineteenth Century. He noted that the Tlingits had a highly developed sense of ownership:

> He [the Tlingit] has his own clothes, weapons, and utensils; he also has his own hunting grounds, his own trade trails which no one else may use without his permission or without paying damages. . . . Even in his relationship with friends and his nearest relatives,

> the Tlingit shows great selfishness. For every service he renders, for every gift he gives, he expects a return.[1]

It is interesting that my field notes contain evidence that the practice of expecting payment, even from very close family members, for services rendered is still prevalent today. A woman will pay cash to her mother or sister who baby-sits for her. Families frequently pay their children for performing various household chores. In traditional Tlingit society, this lack of strong familistic feeling was evidenced also when close relatives were frequently accused of practicing malevolent witchcraft.[2]

Today the relative emphasis on individualism, as opposed to familism, is seen in the everyday life of the community. Although some children fish on the boats of their fathers or uncles, the fishing crews are not organized on the basis of family lines. There is little co-operation among family members in economic pursuits, and family members rarely pool their cash resources in a common family fund.

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[1] Aurel Krause, The Tlingit Indian (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1956), p. 115. (Originally published in Jena in 1885 under the title, Die Tlinket-Indianer.)

[2] Ibid., p. 200.

It is particularly pertinent to the school dropout problem to discuss the child's responsibilities to his family when he reaches adolescence and early adulthood. In the discussion of Eskimo society, it was shown that school attendance often conflicted with family expectations. A young Eskimo man's or woman's prime responsibility was to come to his family's aid immediately if it was felt that his help was needed rather than to pursue his individual interests and needs. In Eskimo society, individual interests are usually subordinated to the family; this is not the case among the Tlingits. During a conversation, one of the skilled wood carvers in Hoonah boasted that he came from a long line of famous wood carvers, but he added that his work was by far the best.. Whether in fishing, education, or accumulation of wealth, the emphasis in Hoonah is on individual achievement rather than on family accomplishment. In many ways, the prevailing importance of individual development and attainment in Hoonah is similar to the emphasis on this value in Western society. The anthropologist, Ruth Underhill, notes this similarity in her description of the

Indians of the Northwest Coast:

> The chief, like a modern millionaire, could lose his position of influence if he lost his wealth. Therefore, he must be ambitious and thrifty. He must keep the goal of wealth before him so clearly that the whole system sometimes looks like a parody of our modern economic life. . . .[1]

In discussing how this value influences school dropouts among the Eskimos, it was noted that strong family ties and loyalties were often a cause for students leaving Mount Edgecumbe High School to return to their villages. Some of the teachers with whom I spoke at Mount Edgecumbe felt that the desire to aid or simply to be with the family was a much more prevalent reason for dropouts among Eskimo than among Tlingit students. This observation was supported by my conversations with adults and young people in the villages. As in our society, parents in Hoonah are, of course, happy if their grown children are able to aid them; however, such aid is not part of a cultural expectation. Children in their late teens are regarded as independent, and it is commonly accepted that their prime responsibility is preparation for their own future lives.

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[1] Ruth Underhill, Red Man's America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 303.

> Parents are happy if their children get a good job, for their own sake. They don't expect anything from it because they know that when they get married they are on their own and it's each family for itself. They have to take care of their own family. After a child is twenty-one, he is free and doesn't have to give anything to his parents. Most people know that when they get old they have to support themselves and be on their own if they can. Naturally, parents are proud if their children send them presents, like on Christmas. Sometimes you can hear them telling other people about it and are proud, but that's all. One thing about people here, they don't try to hold back their children by taking all their money, because they know that young people starting out need money for themselves. They have to save for their own children's school and clothes. Nobody is going to give them anything free.

These sentiments expressed by a young parent are fairly typical. In fact, most parents feel obligated to help their children financially while they are attending school. However, Tlingit parents feel strongly, as is prevalent in our society, that the child appreciates what he achieves if he has had to work hard and experience some deprivation in attaining it. Tlingit parents want their children to achieve beyond their own level, and they have completely accepted the idea that in order for the children to do so, they will have to migrate from the community. The following statement was taken from a conversation with a mother whose three children have completed high school and are now living away from Hoonah:

> Parents are mainly interested in their children getting a good education and a good job. They try to help their children get educated even though they know that when they get a job they won't come back to Hoonah. They figure that if a boy or girl can get a good job, then more power to him. A lot live in Juneau or Seattle already, but they visit and the parents are proud of them. People around here are quick to let you know if their child got a good job. They say that "my child" got such and such a job, or he got his degree in school, or got a high rating in the army. They like children to visit here, naturally, but they want them to go where they can make a good living.

It is interesting that most parents in the village are opposed to the establishment of a high school in Hoonah; they prefer their children to attend Mount Edgecumbe High School or another school outside the village. The parents believe that the educational program provided in a relatively small, community high school would be inferior to that offered at Mount Edgecumbe. In addition, they feel that it is important for youngsters to be away from home and parents in order to develop independence and to become acquainted with the white world. These attitudes are also held by the young people. In summary, the influence of the family in Hoonah is directed toward preparing the child to achieve independently in the world outside the native community. The familistic values of the Eskimos often tend to hinder such mobility and militate against adjustment to the school environment which is relatively impersonal. In addition, individualistic drives among the Tlingits make the goals of vocational, and thus educational, achievement more realistic and compelling.

Differences between the Tlingits and the Eskimos in regard to the value they attach to familism and individualism are reflected in their respective ideals of child rearing. As noted above, Eskimo ideals of early socialization emphasize a high degree of permissiveness and satisfaction of the child's dependency needs. Tlingit parents, however, are, and certainly have been in the past, more concerned with training the child at an early age to be independent and to strive for achievement. Accounts of traditional child-rearing practices among the Tlingits frequently characterize their practices as cruel and harsh.[1] Notwithstanding a high degree of family disorganization and child neglect in Hoonah, current child-rearing practices and ideals still emphasize early independence and firm discipline.

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[1] Krause, op. cit., p. 152.

Values concerning egalitarianism versus outstanding achievement. The Tlingits not only emphasize individualism, as opposed to familism, but they are also highly competitive and strive for outstanding achievement. This was just as prevalent in traditional Tlingit culture as it is today. We have already pointed out that their social organization rests heavily on the principle of rank and hierarchy. Clans and families within clans are ranked in a prestige hierarchy. Krause points out that in the past a single community might have had a few chiefs who were ranked according to status position.[1] This status emphasis was also observed at feasts where members of the aristocratic class occupied places of honor and were given the richest presents.[2] Even the types of ornaments worn by villagers were determined, to some extent, by their social positions.[3] An egalitarian philosophy would have little place in such a societal arrangement. Even small children were rigorously trained at an early age and were "pushed" to excel. Underhill states that "the child was early imbued with the idea that preeminence was necessary. Like any modern business man, he must get to the top."[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 77.

[2] Ibid., pp. 84, 164.

[3] Ibid., pp. 96, 100.

Today, the clan system is still operative, and a class structure exists in the village. There is considerable talk about the "important" people and "those that don't count." At potlatch ceremonials, a person acquires prestige by outdoing others in giving away his possessions. Parents frequently boast about their children who have achieved either educational or vocational success, and such parents are congratulated by others when news of this success has spread around the village. During the fishing season it is also common for crew members to boast about the size of their catch and the fact that they are "high" boat. In fact, a daily list is posted by the local cannery which records the amounts of fish caught by each of the boats. During the actual seining operations, competition between boats is often severe and sharp arguments and practices often ensue. Two of the "top" boat captains in Hoonah recently exchanged pistol shots because of such a disagreement. Some of the teachers told me that even small school children are keenly aware of which was "high" boat, and they frequently boast about their fathers or brothers being associated with it.

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[1] Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

There appears to be considerable difference between Tlingits and Eskimos in their classroom behavior. Two of the village teachers related that in the early grades, up to fifth, the Tlingit students showed the same competition and eagerness to please the teacher that would be expected from a comparable group of white children. Unlike the Eskimo youngsters, the Tlingit youngsters readily volunteered answers and were proud to be singled out by the teacher for an outstanding performance. These teachers observed, however, that when the Tlingit students reached the higher elementary school grades, they tended to become more sullen and more resistant to learning. Teachers were puzzled by this seemingly sudden decline in motivation to please the teacher and to excel in studies. Although I do not fully understand the nature of this reaction, I feel sure that it does not stem from egalitarian values as is the case among the Eskimos. The classroom behavior of the Eskimo student is consistent throughout all grades and is not characterized by the active negativism noted for the Tlingits. Members of the staff at Mount Edgecumbe High School felt that Indian students generally showed more aggressive and competitive behavior in the classroom than the Eskimos did. They also confirmed that the Tlingits expressed more overt hostility toward the teaching staff.

Attitudes toward those who have acquired prestige and wealth are indicative of values attached to outstanding success in Hoonah. Although some jealousy and resentment toward a wealthy and outstanding person is probably universal, such people in Hoonah are usually respected and are looked on as possessing superior attributes.

> Wealthy men were always respected. They were the people with prestige in the community. The ones that were not as good off [*sic*] were looked down on because they were thought to be lazy. People didn't give them much help, because they could do whatever other people did if they tried hard enough.
>
> We figure that if a man has money it's his privilege and good luck. A person is out for his own use [i.e., advancement]. Wealthy people live high and act good. People know they have a lot of money, and they try to act it. You take . . . [name]; he got lots of money and acts stuck-up sometimes, but he put up money for the power plant that belongs to the whole town. They worked hard for their money.

Sentiments toward outstanding individuals, such as those expressed above, are common in Hoonah. Furthermore, not only is there no shame associated with openly exhibiting the symbols of one's success, but it is expected that one will and should do so. It is noteworthy that an individual's success in Hoonah is considered particularly commendable if he "started from the bottom" and advanced through his own efforts and hard work. A current recipient of such praise is the native school teacher in the community who comes from a family of little money and poor reputation. This sentiment, like our own sentiments toward Abraham Lincoln, reflects a society that places great value on achievement strivings and on outstanding success.

Values concerning respect for the integrity of the individual. As is true with most of the other values discussed in this paper, there are marked differences between the Tlingits and the Eskimos with regard to the value I have chosen to call "respect for the integrity of the individual." First, it should be noted that child-rearing practices and the assumptions underlying them are vastly different in these two societies. Mention has already been made of the harsh Tlingit child-rearing practices that were initiated early in the child's life. Krause notes that infant mortality was high among the Tlingits because newborn children were often exposed to changing weather and cold baths in icy water.[1] As soon as the child learned to walk, he was bathed daily in the cold river or sea. If the child was recalcitrant or disobedient, he was whipped by his uncle, who was his major disciplinarian. Krause notes also that adolescent boys were very restricted and had to:

> . . . give unconditional obedience to their parents, but especially to their maternal uncle from whom they will inherit and to whom they stand in closer relation than to the father . . . Even when they are grown up, they are still under the authority of the head of the family.[2]

It was felt that a child would grow up "like an animal" if he were not subjected to strong training pressures. The tightly organized hierarchical structure of Tlingit society and its warlike nature required considerable self-discipline and obedience. Teleologically speaking, the relatively "loosely" organized Eskimo society was able to depend on less certain and less rigid methods of informal social pressure to insure a desired level of conformity. Contrary to Eskimo attitudes on the subject, Tlingit parents felt that it was not only the right but the duty of adults to see that the child was toughened and firmly trained so that he would grow up with appropriate habits and skills.

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[1] Krause, op. cit., p. 103.

[2] Ibid., p. 110.

Although many changes have taken place in Tlingit society, some of the basic attitudes concerning the need for firm child training still exist as ideals and, to a lesser extent, in actual practice. Almost all adults are aware of this ideal of strictness with children, and they speak with pride about the resolute training they received as children. Males, in many instances, were trained by their maternal uncles.

> I've been out on a boat since I was nine years old. When I was that age, my uncle took me in hand and began to teach me how to fish. I sure hated him. I was spoiled because I grew up with my grandmother and she spoiled me, gave me everything I wanted. Well, he was sure tough on me and made me work. But he was fair, and when I worked he gave me money or things for it. If I didn't work, I got a good beating from him. He wouldn't listen to complaints or anything else. I sure learned.

In spite of complaints that the adolescent generation were somewhat unruly and hard to handle, parents confirmed the fact that they tried to "control" their children firmly and to influence directly the decisions they made. Corporal punishment, deprivation of material things, and shaming mechanisms were, they said, all used extensively in dealing with recalcitrant children. Informants also pointed out that, due to recent social and economic changes (i.e., growing aspirations of young people to migrate from the village,[1] the decline of the importance of the uncle as a disciplining agent, family disorganization and drinking), child neglect was increasing and parents were frequently unable to discipline their children. It should be noted, however, that this laxity was decried by most of the villagers since it did not conform to the values of Tlingit society. The ideal of obedience to superiors in a hierarchical structure is realized to a considerable extent on the fishing boats of Hoonah. There, all the crew members are subject to the orders of the captains who are often firm disciplinarians and who will tolerate no disobedience.

In discussing the Eskimos' values concerning respect for the integrity of the individual, it was noted that Eskimo parents were not usually predisposed to "pressure" or even to guide their children firmly in the decision to enter or to remain in high school. Furthermore, we noted that this could not be considered an abdication of parental responsibility but rather a type of behavior that conformed to the valued modes of interpersonal relations. In Hoonah, parents are much more prone to communicate their attitudes about school to their children and to influence the decisions that their offspring make. Where this is not done, it is probably because of family disorganization or a lack of knowledge and not because of the operation of culturally sanctioned values. It is interesting that the few adolescent informants to whom I spoke in Hoonah told me that if they withdrew from high school or were asked to leave because of academic failure, they would be very ashamed to face their parents. Some even indicated that they would be reluctant to return home. On the other hand, very few Eskimo students felt this way.

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[1] Because, for example, of the decline of fishing and the resulting ambitions of young people to live outside the village.

If it is true that the Tlingits value and expect a much higher degree of "directiveness" in interpersonal relations than do the Eskimos, then it should follow that they would not react as strongly to the disciplinary situation at Mount Edgecumbe High School. I was able to question only five individuals from Hoonah who were then, or had recently been, students at Mount Edgecumbe. From these interviews I gathered that negative attitudes of

Hoonah students toward the discipline in Mount Edgecumbe were just as strong as those expressed by Eskimo students. However, it also appeared that the feelings of the Eskimos and Tlingits about this discipline differed qualitatively. The Tlingit students were annoyed and angry, while the Eskimos felt disturbed and upset. In fact, some of the Eskimo students were so surprised and shocked by disciplinary actions of the teaching staff that they seemed at a loss to cope with their feelings in this new type of situation. Tlingits, however, tended to be overtly angry and annoyed with the staff over what they felt to be an injustice. It could be said that the Eskimos internalized their negative reactions, while the Tlingits tended to externalize their hostility and to express overt annoyance with the staff. This was confirmed by some of the Mount Edgecumbe teachers. I was able to gather no definite evidence on this matter, but my impression was that the negative reaction to student discipline at Mount Edgecumbe High School was a more serious cause of dropouts among the Eskimos than among the Tlingits. I attribute these dissimilar reactions to differences in the value orientation and concomitant behavioral expectations in the two cultures.

Values concerning temporal orientation; present versus future time. As in most societies with simple technologies, future time orientation is not developed to an outstanding degree among the Tlingits. However, the favorable economic position of these people has frequently allowed for the accumulation of a considerable amount of surplus property and material resources. It has already been noted that such accumulation of property was highly valued in the past as a means of obtaining power and prestige in Tlingit society. Of necessity, such practices required the cultivation of a certain amount of thrift, foresight, and the denial of present pleasures for future rewards. Consequently, children were traditionally subjected to various painful ordeals such as fasts and trials in order to insure future benefits. Such masochistic practices have had little place in Eskimo life. Underhill discusses the means used by the Indians of the Northwest to attain success:

> The man who was out to succeed must go through long periods of continence. Also, he must not eat too much, and, above all, he must work. The virtues of industry and thrift, the wickedness of being dreamy and unambitious, were impressed upon the young northwesterner

quite as much as upon the white American.[1]

When a Tlingit boy reached early adolescence, he left his home and began a long and very difficult apprenticeship under his uncle from whom he expected to inherit property in the future. The Tlingit boy was prepared from early childhood to think of the future and to cultivate habits necessary for success at a later period of his life.

Many of the institutions and practices on which the strong valuation of future time once rested no longer exist among the Tlingits. The decline of fishing in recent years and an increase in family disorganization has weakened this future time orientation in the present community. Nevertheless, the value orientation has by no means been lost, and it is still manifested by a significant portion of the Hoonah population.

One of the criticisms directed at individuals in the lower class by those higher in the status hierarchy is that many of them live "like cats and dogs," from day to day with little concern for the future. Although the economic situation in Hoonah allows little room for saving, many people in the community are concerned with putting away some money to help their children when they go off to high school or college. Although parents expect their grown children to contribute substantially to their own support, parents also feel that they should help their youngsters get an education. A few women told me that they tried not to spend their summer earnings on current needs but to hold on to the money so that they would be able to give some to their children when they left for school. It should be remembered that, compared to the Eskimos, a sizeable number of Hoonah families choose to send their children to Sheldon Jackson High School where they pay regular tuition fees. Although the reasons for this practice vary somewhat, there is a prevalent belief among the Tlingits that the educational program there is superior and gives the student better preparation for competition in the job market after graduation. Some of the Hoonah informants reasoned that the education at Sheldon Jackson must be superior to that at Mount Edgecumbe because tuition was required at the former school, and "if you pay for something, you get more."

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[1] Underhill, op. cit., p. 304.

One of the current problems in Hoonah, which is arousing considerable interest and comment, stems from the recent decision of the school authorities to establish a high school in Hoonah and to close admissions at Mount Edgecumbe High School for students from this community. This year the local school provides instruction even for ninth and tenth grade students. Both parents and young people are very unhappy about this situation; they feel that it will be impossible for the local school to provide education and job training equal to that provided at Mount Edgecumbe or Sheldon Jackson. Consequently, young people fear that they will not be adequately trained for good jobs. This situation has been causing great concern in the community, and it provides additional evidence that there is a lively consideration of the future among the Tlingits of Hoonah. Furthermore, education is being viewed increasingly as the most efficient channel for future success.

Values concerning active mastery versus fatalism. In discussing the relatively fatalistic attitudes of the Eskimos, it was noted that one of the contributing causes was the harsh environment and the precarious, undependable, and marginal economic existence of these people. In this respect, as in so many others, the society of the Indians of the Northwest Coast provides a sharp contrast. These

Indians have sometimes been referred to as the "capitalists" of aboriginal America. The waters in the area have always provided them with an abundant supply of fish and other resources. The thick forests have supplied lumber, food, and animal furs. The Indians in this region have always been confident of their ability not only to acquire the necessities of life but also to accumulate a surplus. The climate in the area was mild and did not constitute a physical hazard as it did for the Eskimos. It should also be remembered that the Tlingits were warriors who were feared both by their Eskimo and Indian neighbors. Such societal conditions provided fertile ground for the growth of feelings of mastery and confidence in one's ability to overcome the difficulties of the natural environment. Historical accounts of the Tlingit Indians generally picture them as proud, confident, and vain.

Since the coming of the white man, many things have happened to alter the Tlingit's self-image and perhaps to minimize his sense of confidence and power. The Tlingits were defeated militarily, they were reduced to the status of a minority group in the area, they were discriminated against in many of the neighboring white communities, and their relative economic situation was no longer a preeminent one. In spite of these factors, one is still impressed with the competitive drive and confidence of these people when compared to the Eskimos. One cannot remain in Hoonah long before he hears that the Tlingits of the community are the best fishermen in the area. These boasts, to white people, contain elements of pride and perhaps even defiance.

As the Western world increasingly impinges on the Tlingit, and as the younger Indian generation orients itself more and more toward goals and aspirations outside the community and traditional occupational pursuits, doubts mixed with feelings of inferiority are becoming incorporated in these people's self-image. In comparing themselves with whites, whom they regard as competitors, the Tlingits have become keenly aware of their own minority group status, their inferior material possessions, education, and skills necessary in the world to which they aspire. Given their emphasis on active mastery, as contrasted to passivity or fatalism, the Tlingits have not accommodated to the situation with resignation. Consequently, they experience a high level of anxiety and hypersensitivity in their relations with whites. The vigorous attempts in Hoonah to reawaken interest in traditional customs and to revive a reaffirmation of pride in being a Tlingit are partially reactions to this anxiety and extreme sensitivity. This reflects the high value placed on mastery and the refusal to admit defeat. While this situation is causing anxiety and even hostility toward white society, it also provides the Tlingits with strong motivations to achieve success in the outside world.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Since many of the conclusions and implicit recommendations are to be found in the body of this report, this section will contain a summary statement of some outstanding factors that have emerged in the course of the discussion. Where appropriate, some suggestions for change will also be made.

In examining the value systems of the Eskimos and the Tlingit Indians, it appears that in many ways the Tlingit value system makes them more predisposed to place greater importance on educational and vocational success as defined by the larger American society. The Tlingits place more emphasis on competition and achievement-striving, both for prestige and material possessions. Accordingly, the Tlingit individual has developed personality skills that enable him to express aggression and to cope with aggression directed against him with less discomfort than the typical Eskimo. The individualistic values of the Tlingit society, contrasted with the familistic ones of Eskimo society, also predispose the Tlingit to define and to seek success independent of his close kin. Also, the future time orientation of the Tlingit and the concomitant ability to delay immediate need gratification for the sake of more remote goals provides him with an additional impetus for pursuing education. Aside from the value component of the motivation to acquire an education, the long-term historical contact of the Tlingits with white society and their propinquity to urban centers in Alaska and parts of the United States place them at an advantage relative to the Eskimos.

Although opportunities to obtain a desired cash income are greater in Hoonah than in either of the Eskimo villages I visited, only to a limited extent are the traditional economic systems in all of these communities able to meet the people's felt needs. This situation increases positive motivation to view education as a channel for mobility in the American occupational structure. However, other factors affect the degree to which the Eskimos and Tlingits take advantage of the educational facilities available to them. Minority ethnic groups in the United States frequently enter the American social structure via the bottom rung of the social class ladder. As acculturation takes place, these groups may come to resemble individuals in the lower socio-economic group of our society and may acquire similar values and motivation for pursuing education. Even in the large urban centers in our country, the high school dropout problem is most serious among youngsters whose families occupy the lower end of the status hierarchy. Whether or not this happens to the native population of Alaska will depend partly on the economic development in the villages and surrounding areas. It will also depend on how these people are received by their white neighbors in the communities where they come to live and work. If they meet with serious discrimination, which often accompanies minority group status in the United States, it is probable that their motivation to accept and strive for the symbols of success in our society will be drastically reduced. As stated previously, the individual's motivation for education cannot be viewed in isolation. It is an outgrowth of the larger context of striving for economic success and prestige from his peers. As the possibilities of obtaining these rewards in the traditional cultural systems continue to decline, to what extent will they be replaced by opportunities for gratification in the economic and social systems of the changing villages and in Alaskan society generally? If such opportunities are not available, a progressive development of apathy and indifference may take place among Alaskan native groups.

The motivation for education is crucially related to the perception of education in these groups. Although some differences exist in the three villages discussed, there is little doubt that the overwhelming and almost exclusive value attached to education is vocational. While many of the Tlingits aspire to white-collar positions, the Eskimos are primarily interested in obtaining semi-skilled and skilled manual jobs. For the most part, education is not desired for its "cultural" and aesthetic qualities or as a prestige symbol in its own right. Therefore, it might be desirable to consider establishing regional high schools whose major emphases are vocational. Although their curricula should include regular academic subjects, they could be oriented toward teaching the students skills that would be directly applicable to job placement. I feel that the purposes of such schools would be readily understood by the native population and that their advantages would be more obvious to them than those of academically oriented schools. Regional high schools would also offer the students the advantages of being closer to home than they would be at a centralized institution such as Mount Edgecumbe High School. At the same time such regional schools would permit more efficient concentration of equipment and teaching personnel than would be possible in local community schools. As the economy of Alaska grows and becomes more diversified, such regional educational centers could, to some extent, adapt their curricula to the major technical skills needed in the local area, and they could also perform the functions of job placement and community education more adequately than one large, centralized institution. In view of the extremely meagre information in the Eskimo villages about such matters as the nature of education and the academic training prerequisites of various jobs, there seems to be a great need for dissemination of such material in extra-curricular community educational programs.

During the course of my interviews with young students in the Eskimo communities, I was impressed with the fact that the self-images of these students were imbued with deep feelings of inadequacy and inferiority. Such a devalued student image was very prevalent, and its existence was confirmed by many teachers. Both teachers and native students noted that one of the important reasons for school dropouts and the lack of motivation to enter high school stemmed from students' feelings of inadequacy in dealing with the difficulties of the curriculum. This deep-seated, negative attitude is often transmitted to the student early in his educational career while he is trying to learn strange and often meaningless facts in a language over which he has little command. In his home, he receives little help or active encouragement from his parents, and he is not exposed to books or other educational media that would supplement his formal instruction. Under such conditions, it is quite understandable and "normal" that the child would acquire a devalued image of himself as a student. Teachers who use norms derived from non-native schools as their standard of adequacy rapidly conclude that Eskimo children have neither the potential ability nor the motivation necessary for academic success. This attitude is sometimes unwittingly transmitted to the Eskimo youngster and initiates a vicious circle in which he reduces his own efforts even further and so confirms the teacher's original evaluation of native students. For these reasons, it is very important for the teachers to adjust the curriculum to the needs of the pupils and to adopt more realistic standards for evaluating academic adequacy. I suggest this not with the idea that it is necessary or desirable to "mollycoddle" the Eskimo student, but as a means of preventing an early and serious loss of confidence in his abilities as a student. Only in this manner can his potential be realized.

Finally, there is the question of the nature and degree of discipline that characterizes the high school at Mount Edgecumbe. Aside from the question of whether or not such discipline is justified by the situation, the fact remains that an overwhelming majority of the young people with whom I spoke found this discipline extremely distasteful and felt that it contributed significantly to dissatisfaction with school life. Although I did not speak with many of the other teachers, it appeared that some members of the staff were also dissatisfied with the rules and regulations at this institution. Others pointed out that the behavior of some students (i.e., drinking, sexual laxity, etc.) "proved" the need for maintaining strict control over student conduct. Perhaps part of the problem stems from the students' feeling that they are not trusted by the staff. It has been said that one way to insure untrustworthy behavior from an individual is to not trust him. In addition, it was pointed out earlier that the type of discipline at the school represented a sharp break with what most of the Eskimo youngsters had experienced at home and with their cultural expectations from adults. I suggest that the problem of discipline be seriously reconsidered with a view to altering the role of staff counselors who, because of role contradictions, are often perceived by students as disciplinarians rather than as confidants. Also, means should be explored for instituting at the school more self-government to make students feel that they have a responsible role in making the decisions that influence their school lives. Recent reforms in this direction carried out in such difficult situations as in penal institutions and mental hospitals indicate that broadening the base of decision making to include the clientele of an institution can be both effective and can provide a valuable educational experience for the participants. The problem is far from simple and requires both study and a willingness to risk making errors in the process of instituting such changes.

In conclusion, this attempt to deal with the complexities of cultural values and motivation to continue or to drop out of school is not intended to provide facile answers to the problem of native education nor to suggest definite techniques for dealing with this problem. Many intelligent and experienced people have given much thought to the problem and have come up with no simple answers. In a sense, my purpose has been to point out and document this complexity and to try to understand some of the contributing factors. The pedagogical and motivational problems of educating native young people can ultimately be solved only by a sympathetic approach to the native population, by competent teaching, and by an understanding of the personality, values, and social problems of the various cultural groups.

CHAPTER III

STATIC SOULS: THE PARTIALLY EDUCATED

The partially-educated individual is of most concern to us in this study and is the person about whom there is evolving a growing national anxiety. Who are the individuals who leave school early? What do they look like, where do they come from, why do they choose not to complete their education? Where have the school, the community, the society failed them, and why have they failed within themselves to become productive citizens? Is the Alaskan dropout any different from the dropouts in other geographic areas?

Many factors appear to operate in determining whether individuals stay in school or leave early. (See Tables 11 and 12.) The first are personal factors such as race, place of birth, sex, age, condition of health, intelligence, education of parents, and other related characteristics. Next are those factors which exert direct and subtle influence upon the child from the time he is born. Included are socio-economic status of parents, general home atmosphere and family relationships, parents' occupations, and attitudes of parents toward education. Finally, factors which contribute to dropout are those which relate to the school itself: type of personnel, type of administrative policy, curriculum, guidance, social relationships, type

TABLE 11

PRIMARY REASONS FOR LEAVING SCHOOL GIVEN BY 270 DROPOUT RESPONDENTS[a]

REASONS	NUMBER OF DROPOUTS	PER CENT
Needed at home[b]	49	18.1
Marriage	38	14.1
Wanted to work	33	12.2
Feeling of isolation[c]	28	10.4
School would not readmit	28	10.4
Trouble with school personnel[d]	19	7.0
Joined military[e]	17	6.3
Pregnancy	17	6.3
Illness[f]	16	5.9
No reason--"just because"	14	5.2
School rules too stringent	5	1.9
Lack of privacy	2	.7
Not given	4	1.5
TOTAL	270	100.0

[a] Field interviews not necessarily included above, because not all interviewees were questionnaire respondents.

[b] Respondent perceived himself as being needed at home, but no indication of real need.

[c] Including homesickness.

[d] Not necessarily perceived by personnel or included in school's refusal to readmit students.

[e] Many students attended National Guard encampment and then did not return to school--enlisted permanently.

[f] Including "alcoholism" defined by respondent as "I was sick from too much liquor all the time."

TABLE 12

SECONDARY REASONS FOR LEAVING SCHOOL GIVEN
BY 270 DROPOUT RESPONDENTS

REASONS	NUMBER OF DROPOUTS	PER CENT
To help at home	59	21.9
Marriage	40	14.8
Homesick	36	13.3
School would not readmit	35	12.9
Wanted to go to work	32	11.9
Trouble with school personnel[a]	25	9.3
Financial reasons[b]	23	8.5
School work too hard	19	7.0
Joined service[c]	18	6.7
Pregnancy	17	6.3
Illness and/or hospitalization	15	5.6
No particular reason	10	3.7
Rules too strict	9	3.3
Climate	4	1.5
Feeling of isolation	4	1.5
Lack of privacy	4	1.5
Reached sixteen years of age	4	1.5
Trouble with peers	2	.7
Not given	2	.7
TOTAL	358[d]	132.6[d]

[a] Including feelings of rejection, discrimination, and lack of personal concern.

[b] Including lack of funds for transportation, clothing, spending money, etc.

[c] Voluntary and draft.

[d] Numbers exceed 270 and per cents exceed 100 due to mulitple reasons given by several respondents.

and location of school. One cannot say that taken singly any one of these factors is more important than the others. They all interact and are not mutually exclusive, nor do all exist in any given case.

PERSONAL FACTORS IN DROPOUT

Race

This study has been limited to the investigation of dropouts who are one-fourth or more Eskimo, Indian, or Aleut. It was hypothesized an inverse relationship would occur between the student's propensity to leave school and his degree of native ancestry due to the influence of parents of mixed blood. Table 13 shows that of the sample of 1078 dropouts only 82 were one-fourth native while 613 were full-blooded natives. Seventy-one students of one-fourth native background graduated and 571 full-blooded natives were also graduates. If the hypothesis were to hold true, one would expect to find an inverted column for graduates when compared with dropouts. Since the facts do not support the hypothesis, it must stand disproved in the light of present data. The conclusion may be drawn that racial background and degree of blood are not determining factors in native dropouts.

However, the concept of race as a determining factor in the dropout problem cannot be so easily dismissed. For Eskimos, Indians, or Aleuts a significant cultural orientation exists which is at variance with the cultural

TABLE 13

RACIAL CLASSIFICATION OF 991 GRADUATES COMPARED WITH 1078 DROPOUTS

RACIAL CLASSIFICATION	NUMBER OF GRADUATES	NUMBER OF DROPOUTS
One-fourth	71	82
Three-eighths	11	13
One-half	165	200
Five-eighths	11	11
Three-fourths	128	101
Seven-eighths	18	12
Four-fourths or Eight-eighths	571	613
Not given	16	46
TOTAL	991	1078

context of the school attended by the children of these racial groups. For example, the reactions of children in given classrooms are determined by the experiences and the cultural perspectives each child brings to school with him. Data presented in Chapter II describe cultural factors which affect the educational processes. Language problems exhibited by the Kuskokwim Eskimos, the Interior Indians, and to some degree by the Arctic Eskimos cannot be disregarded as a component of racial background. The degree of communication between teacher and pupil or school and community appears closely related to the level of achievement of pupils, their motivation for education and their general attitudes toward education. While the figures in Table 13 appear to indicate a dubious relationship between racial origin and propensity for early school leaving, many related factors have not been exposed. Before any conclusive statement could be made regarding race as a determining factor, a thorough study would be required to investigate the decisions of students of many races to leave school early.

Place of Birth: Cultural Determinants

Material has been presented in Chapter II on the subject of values and cultural factors which conflict or balance with the educational processes and policies to which the native students are subjected. Certain other related material bears comment here. The place of birth of a given individual determines his way of life. If, for example, the individual is a Kuskokwim Eskimo, he will follow a pattern of existence which differs considerably from that of a Southeastern Indian. Similarly, differences found among other groups are implicit as well as explicit. Some of the disparities are part of the community's way of life, such as food mores and hunting techniques. The more implicit differences are to be found in the patterns of thinking of the various groups, their ways of reacting to given stimuli, and their perceptions of certain circumstances. Thus, part of the problem of adjustment for the student who attends high school away from home is one of communication. At Mount Edgecumbe High School, for example, the problem of communication exists not only between teacher and student but also among students from different areas. Reactions to discipline, to instruction, and simply to daily routines can vary tremendously. Thus the problems of adjustment, the question of success or failure, the decisions to leave school are compounded by the myriad aspects of being forced to revise known values to reconstruct new ones—at best a formidable task for an adult, let alone for the adolescent student. In the process, varied reactions appear: some students adjust, others cannot. Whatever the process, conflict, anxiety, and confusion are in attendance.

There is little doubt that the place of birth of the individual predetermines to a great extent whether he will remain in school until graduation. (See Tables 14 and 15 .) The Southeastern Indian, born into a more acculturated

TABLE 14

HOME TOWN AREAS OF 991 GRADUATES COMPARED WITH 1078 DROPOUTS

AREA	NUMBER OF GRADUATES	NUMBER OF DROPOUTS
Southeastern	348	336
Arctic and Bering Sea	328	347
Anchorage and Aleutian	144	238
Interior and Kuskokwim	161	157
Out of state	3	0
Not given	7	0
TOTAL	991	1078

TABLE 15

ETHNIC ORIGIN OF 991 GRADUATES COMPARED WITH 1078 DROPOUTS

ORIGIN	NUMBER OF GRADUATES	NUMBER OF DROPOUTS
Arctic Eskimo	328	333
Haida-Tlingit	309	256
Aleut	131	176
Athabascan	117	133
Kuskokwim Eskimo	53	93
Tsimpsian	41	58
Indian/Eskimo	2	7
Tsimpsian/Haida-Tlingit	1	5
Aleut/Eskimo	0	1
Not given	9	16
TOTAL	991	1078

group, has far greater potentiality for high school graduation than the Kuskokwim Eskimo who comes from the least acculturated areas of Alaska.

Sex Factors

In other dropout studies, evidence shows that more boys than girls drop out of school in order to obtain wage employment and to help at home. However, of 543 male and 535 female dropouts in this sample, sexual difference is not significant as a factor in the propensity to leave school early. No clear explanation can be given for the fact that the present study is at variance with findings on the national level. However, the lack of employment available to males may account in part for the difference in this case. Also, the rate of age-grade retardation is approximately the same for males as it is for females, which may account in part for the high female dropout figure.

Age

Age is one of the primary factors accounting for the high Alaskan native dropout rate. Frequently, children do not enter school at age six. Where school entry has been at the normal age, occasionally the individual's health has failed, causing him to be hospitalized and thus retarding his education. Also, children who enter school at age six have repeated several grades throughout the years for reasons such as language difficulties, illness, or excessive absences caused by moving with their parents to fishing or hunting camps in the spring and autumn, while school is in session. The child misses so much material that he is held back the next school year. In one village which relied primarily upon subsistence hunting, fishing, and trapping for its survival, no children had gone beyond grade six; yet none had left school prior to age sixteen. During the past twenty-five years, the problem of improving the holding power of the school has become almost insurmountable since students get discouraged, parents expect them to become productive members of the household, and the general atmosphere is one of indifference or of defeat with regard to education. Actually, therefore, the number of students who do continue their education despite the high age-grade retardation and their lack of encouragement to do so is somewhat surprising. Table 16 indicates the high rate of age-grade retardation for both graduates and dropouts. Of 991 graduating students, only 90 were in their proper grade, and of 1078 dropout students 84 were also at their proper grade placement. The rate of age-grade retardation appears to be fairly consistent for both graduating and non-graduating students up to four years, after which time the retardation becomes significantly higher for the dropout students--some of whom have been retarded as many as nine full years. The assumption on which this table is based may be somewhat unfair to the Alaskan school system. The assumption is that schooling is available to every child who reaches his sixth year and that he will progress

TABLE 16

NUMBER OF YEARS AGE-GRADE RETARDATION OF 991 GRADUATES COMPARED WITH 1078 DROPOUTS

NUMBER OF YEARS RETARDATION	NUMBER OF GRADUATES	NUMBER OF DROPOUTS
No retardation	90	84
One year	196	177
Two years	261	259
Three years	244	257
Four years	128	157
Five years	39	90
Six years	33	35
Seven years	0	10
Eight years	0	6
Nine years	0	3
TOTAL	991	1078

chronologically and academically each year. The fact is that there were many geographical areas where schools were not available to the members of the group at the time they were six. Factors of subsistence mentioned above are not necessarily within the control of the schools, and, finally, even when the child enters school at age six and is assured regular attendance, cultural and linguistic problems emerge which definitely affect his progress. It is not startling to find that most dropouts leave school in their seventeenth or eighteenth years, at which time they are in the ninth or tenth grade. This stage of development characteristically implies an assumption of certain adult responsibilities inherent in the societies in which the adolescents live. (See Table 17.) The school's responsibility, or perhaps ability, to deal with this problem lies in the concept of goals of education and the consideration of curricula, policies, and other matters better left to discussion in the section on school-related causes for students' dropout.

Health

Health records were practically non-existent in the schools included in this study. From the information available, tuberculosis appears to be the major medical problem among both student dropouts and graduates. Among the dropout students, fifty-one individuals were ex-tubercular patients and twenty-three had been hospitalized during their high school periods. Of the graduating

TABLE 17

AGE-GRADE DISTRIBUTION OF 1078 DROPOUTS FROM SELECTED HIGH SCHOOLS, 1949-1960

AGE	GRADE NINE		GRADE TEN		GRADE ELEVEN		GRADE TWELVE		TOTAL		COMBINED TOTALS
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
13		1								1	1
14	5	8	1	1					6	9	15
15	30	29	15	17					45	46	91
16	51	50	18	42	7	9			76	101	177
17	50	53	47	41	21	21	5	2	123	117	240
18	35	38	43	48	31	31	9	7	118	124	242
19	27	17	32	22	22	30	5	3	86	72	158
20	13	8	20	15	11	17	8	3	52	43	95
21	4	3	5	2	5	4		2	14	11	25
22	1	1	3		4	2	2		10	3	13
23	1	1	1	1			1		3	2	5
24			1		1				2		2
25							1		1		1
No age given	4	4	1	2	2				7	6	13
TOTALS	221	213	187	191	104	114	31	17	543	535	1078

students, seventy-five individuals were ex-tubercular patients and four seniors were hospitalized and received their diplomas through the educational facilities at the sanitarium. While these figures are not extraordinarily high for Alaska, they are well above the national incidence of tuberculosis. Actual hospitalization accompanied by an opportunity to enroll in high school courses often encouraged education. The child confined for medical reasons could not go home. However, the fact that many children had undetected illnesses while attending village schools inevitably affected their school performance and contributed to dropout.

The incidence of other illnesses is low and encompasses many types of disease and residual problems. Perhaps of note is the incidence of mental illness severe enough to require commitment to a mental hospital. Fourteen cases of mental illness were reported among dropouts and three among student graduates for the period under consideration. On the whole, graduates seem to be healthier than non-graduates; but because of lack of available information such an impression may be erroneous. Except in the case of tuberculosis, however, one can reasonably assume that the health of the individual is not ordinarily a major factor is his decision to remain in school or to leave. The greatest health problem may lie in malnutrition, neglect of marginal eyesight, hearing, and low-grade infections which affect the motivation and the productivity of students and which inevitably lower actual achievement. Certainly, many children in the schools have residual defects of sight and hearing and suffer from malnutrition if not from actual hunger. The rate of retardation may thus be affected, if only indirectly.

Intelligence

In his dropout study, William Evraiff states:

> Lack of mental ability to succeed with regular high-school programs is at best only a partial factor in causing students to leave the regular high school. While the groups are not representative of each of the student populations, since the regular students were matched in part on scholastic ability with the continuation students, the fact that those with similar mental abilities were successful in remaining in regular school indicates that mental ability alone is not an effective criterion for the elimination of students from the regular secondary-school program.[1]

Matthews states that:

> . . . Dropouts in this study had an average intelligence significantly below the group staying in school. However, approximately 4 per cent of the dropouts were in the highest quarter of the class and 18 per cent of the dropouts were in the second highest quarter of the class in intelligence.[2]

Van Dyke and Hoyt found that "there is no difference in the mean intelligence test score of dropouts and mean intelligence test score of the persisters represented in this investigation."[1] Table 18 shows the classification of graduates and non-graduates in intelligence levels. Although both graduates and non-graduates appear primarily in the "below-average" grouping, no significant difference appears in the two "average" classifications, which are the largest. In other words, this study bears out the conclusions reached by the investigators cited above. No significant disparity between dropouts and persisters appears when scores from intelligence tests are compared. However, a difference is noted at the top of the intelligence classification. More graduate students than dropouts are classified as superior and above average. This finding seems reasonable, since one would expect to find that the intellectually motivated would also be the intellectually capable.

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[1] William Evraiff, "How Different Are Our Dropouts?" Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, XLI (February, 1957), 213.

[2] Charles V. Matthews, "The Serious Problem of the School Dropout," Illinois Education, L (January, 1962), 210.

A word of caution is in order about the classification of Alaskan native students on the basis of intellegence tests. Tests used in high schools throughout the United States are used also in Alaskan high schools.[2] Most intelligence and achievement tests in use today are designed for English-speaking, middle-class, urban children. Commonly the tests have been found wanting when used for other socio-economic groups, groups using English as a second

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[1] L. A. Van Dyke and K. B. Hoyt, The Drop-out Problem in Iowa High Schools (Des Moines: Iowa State Department of Public Instruction and the State University of Iowa, 1958), p. 20.

[2] Tests used are the Otis Self-Scoring, Stanford Achievement, SRA, and Lorge-Thorndike Non-Verbal.

TABLE 18

INTELLIGENCE LEVELS[1] OF 991 GRADUATES COMPARED WITH 1078 DROPOUTS

I.Q. LEVELS	NUMBER OF GRADUATES	NUMBER OF DROPOUTS
Superior (120+)	20	7
Above average (110-120)	101	87
Average (90-110)	291	182
Below average (90-)	455	390
Not given	124	412
TOTAL	991	1078

[1] Scores from school-administered standardized I.Q. and achievement tests were used to classify students in the above categories.

language, and cultural minority groups. Davis states:

> Every important authority on the testing of intelligence, from Terman to Thurstone, has pointed out that the available tests may not be used legitimately to compare the abilities of children who come from clearly different social and cultural environments. Nevertheless, these tests have been used routinely in this way both by their authors and by public schools for thirty years. They are so used routinely throughout the nation today. The result has been to stigmatize the Negro and the Mexican American, and other low-status groups in the public schools. Teachers use this "scientific" judgment, as symbolized in the IQ, to justify the school's discrimination against colored pupils, and their own inefficient teaching.[1]

The population included in this study is rural in character and in most instances uses English as a second language. Thus reading ability and cultural concepts inhibit the accurate testing of such persons as described above. The specific inappropriateness of items appearing in several of the verbal and non-verbal tests in use in Alaska was discussed in an earlier study.[2]

While school grades are highly subjective, Table 19 shows the grades received by dropouts compared with those of persisters. The majority of students in both the graduate and non-graduate groups is in the "C" grade category as are thousands of other high school students throughout

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[1] Allison Davis, "The Schools' Most Costly Weakness: The Education of National, Racial, and Underprivileged Groups in California," *Seventeenth Yearbook of the California Elementary School Principals' Association* (Oakland, California: F. Zimmerman Co., 1945), p. 43.

[2] Charles K. Ray, *A Program of Education for Alaskan Natives* (revised edition; College, Alaska: University of Alaska, 1959), pp. 73-77.

TABLE 19

ACADEMIC STANDING OF 991 GRADUATES COMPARED WITH 1078 DROPOUTS

ACADEMIC STANDING	NUMBER OF GRADUATES	NUMBER OF DROPOUTS
"A" students	59	11
"B" students	357	202
"C" students	500	516
"D" students	52	211
"F" students	1	90
Not given	22	48
TOTAL	991	1078

the nation. There are significantly more "D" students among the dropouts than among the graduates, but 18 per cent of the dropouts are to be found in the "B" groups as well as 1 per cent in the "A" group. It seems fair to say that the dropout student is judged to be academically able in most cases and appears to have average achievement as evaluated by the teachers.

The conclusion to be derived from the data is that intelligence *per se* cannot be considered a major contributing factor to dropout and that achievement levels are not markedly different.

Education of Parents

It is assumed that the educational level of parents can be directly related to the educational level of their children; that is, parents who have had a secondary school education will be convinced enough of its benefits to assure that their children go to high school, whereas parents with little or no education will not have similar expectations. While this has proven to be the case in most instances, many parents with little or no education have provided, at personal sacrifice, the means and the motivation which enabled their children to go on to high school and even to college. Since few data were available on parents' education, no decisive statements can be made. However, from the information obtained, there appears to be little difference in the educational level between mothers and fathers. The mean educational level achieved by parents of dropouts is approximately grades four to six, while for parents of graduates it is approximately grades seven to eight. Given the low level of educational attainment of parents coupled with community attitudes and educational expectation, it is not surprising to find that most students do not complete high school and that parents are not particularly concerned about this fact. One report states:

> Indian parents, without a tradition of formal education behind them, find it hard to understand its needs or benefits. Poor families must sacrifice to keep their young ones in school. They have a hard time earning enough money for clothes and shoes and are loath to surrender the potential wage the child might earn. Such parents rarely give the child the incentive to attend school regularly or to continue to higher levels.[1]

Jean Lagasse states:

> It has been said that the strongest motivation for education lies in the lower middle class homes where parents realize that if they had received an adequate education they could have joined the upper middle class society. . . .
>
> The person who lives under a fishing and trapping economy has not the same opportunity to learn the value of education. On the contrary, he knows of persons with a grade nine or ten who catch less fish than one with no formal education whatever. Similar observations are frequent in the lives of other unskilled and semi-skilled workers.[2]

The Bristol Bay area provides an example of a region where the commercial fisherman can earn as much as twenty thousand dollars in a good season and three to five thousand dollars in poor seasons. Education offers few obvious benefits to a people who trust that the seasons will always be good and who find no real need to prepare against the years which do not prove to be so. The lack of wage-employment compounds the argument against the value of education as a means of achieving a better cash economy and ultimately a higher standard of living. So far, to the majority of native Alaskans, education has not proven itself. In other areas of Alaska where the mainstay of life is subsistence hunting and trapping, the focus of community effort is to train the young to continue these practices efficiently. Education is considered "good" only to the extent that it does not interfere with the learning of the boy who is ready to take over his father's traplines and the girl who is ready to help with the younger children at home. Thus education up to about fifth grade is considered acceptable, but the child who wants to continue his schooling is faced with the problem of breaking tradition. For example, in one village the adults have a second grade education at best and Eskimo is still spoken in all the homes. The children in this village go to school locally until the eighth grade. The parents feel that this amount of schooling is excellent. After the eighth grade the students are eligible to attend Mount Edgecumbe High School, but none has ever applied there. Only two children have gone to St. Mary's Mission High School, despite the efforts of the local missionary. When asked, through an interpreter, what they thought about these children's being in high school, several adults shrugged their shoulders while the parents said, "We don't understand those kids, why they would go away and leave the village and they went all alone. We wish they'd come back and stay." When the question was posed about what the children would do if they came home, the response was that they could help fish and trap. Undoubtedly after these two children return to the village for vacation, they will not return to high school in the fall and can be added to the list of those who have dropped out because of lack of parental education, understanding, and experience.

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[1] A Program for Indian Citizens--A Summary Report (Albuquerque, New Mexico: Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian, 1961), p. 30.

[2] Jean H. Lagasse, The People of Indian Ancestry in Manitoba (Winnipeg: Department of Agriculture and Immigration, 1959), II, p. 136.

Personal Characteristics of Dropout Students

It is trite to say that each individual possesses a distinct personality which enables him to pursue certain goals, that brings him into certain conflict situations and helps him to avoid others, and that colors his perceptions, interpretations, and ultimately his responses to given stimuli. These points should be reiterated, however, if we are to understand why the dropout student reacts to certain features of school which ultimately influence him to leave before completing high school. As stated previously, few differences were found in the intelligence levels and racial and ethnic backgrounds of dropouts and of graduates. Thus the cause for dropout cannot be neatly attributed to any one of the above factors and, therefore, must lie within the individual himself and be influenced by some or all of the external factors of birth, race, health, etc.

What, then, are some of the personal characteristics of the dropout that affect his decision to remain in school or to leave? Almost every study on school dropout shows that the individual dropout is socially isolated; that is, he does not participate in extra-curricular activities, he is not elected to student offices, he is not considered for awards; and, in fact, he is often ignored by peers and even by school personnel. Because of his academic failure, he frequently has a feeling of personal worthlessness which is compounded by his isolation. But since he is not consistently a failing student, this sense of inadequacy is more often attributable to his social ineptness and lack of acceptance than to lack of success. The experiences the individual has in school determine his self-image which is more often negative than positive. The sense of worth necessary for motivation, achievement, and success is often lacking. Allen states:

> A committee reporting on the dropout problem said of participation in extra-curricular activity, "Among the hundreds of school-leavers we have interviewed, we have found only a few who were active, accepted members of a status clique, a school club, team, or activity!"[1]

Evidence from the dropouts themselves, from other studies, and from teacher observations point to the fact that the feeling of belonging--or of not belonging--is an important factor in the child's decision to remain in school.

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[1] Charles Allen, Combatting the Dropout Problem (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1956), p. 9.

Another study indicates:

> The typical dropout is also frequently characterized by failure to belong to an in-school group. He usually does not participate in extracurricular activities, which constitute an area of interest and identification for many students.[1]

Little information is available on students' participation in extra-curricular activities. Among the 1078 dropouts in this study only 142 had engaged in any extra-curricular activities.

Another personal characteristic affecting dropout is the individual's perception of himself in relation to others in school. Matthews states:

> Dropouts scored significantly below stay-in students on measures of personality adjustment. This variation could have been partially due to the lower socio-economic situation and the lower average intelligence of the dropout. However, when these factors were controlled by comparing the dropouts to a matched stay-in group, the dropout was particularly lacking in the personality characteristics necessary to achieve status and social maturity. He is easily disorganized and pessimistic about his occupational future. He finds himself often on the defensive in social situations and is unable to command the work habits necessary to succeed.[2]

On the Alaskan scene the question of personality adjustment is somewhat confused by cultural conflict between the expectations of non-native teachers and of native students. The goals of the educational system are in basic conflict with the major part of the current traditions of the villages from which the students come. If, then, the student is found to be "well-adjusted" in terms of the school he attends, he may not be considered so by the community from which he comes and to which he returns. The whole complex of value systems, personal and cultural goals, and the reality of a changing pattern of life interact. Some of these factors have been explored in Chapter II and more will be discussed in connection with school-related and community-related factors in dropout. In considering the high-school student's own attitudes, one feature stood out in all interviews and agin on questionnaire returns--the personal sense of futility felt by most dropout students. On the whole, dropouts felt they had no ability to cope with the curriculum, that they received little encouragement from teachers or parents to do so, and that they were not sure what would be gained by staying in school. Many thought that the discipline was too harsh, that school personnel distrusted them, and that a basic lack of respect was shown to them as individuals. Thus students became easily discouraged and could not define sufficient reason to stay in school and struggle. Many believed their friends felt the same way but that perhaps their parents or teachers encouraged them more and so gave them some reason to keep trying. None stated a lack of interest in school *per se*, although there were many expressions of dislike and disinterest in specific subjects. The majority of dropouts saw little relationship between what they were learning in school and jobs that were available to them. Tables 20 and 21 show the attitudes of 270 dropout respondents with regard to the value of education in general and of specific courses. The data are not encouraging.

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[1] High School Dropouts (revised; Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, September, 1959), p. 8.

[2] Matthews, op. cit., p. 210.

Many students lacked the ability to adjust to being away from home. They worried about specific members of the family and family welfare. If parents wrote that they missed the student, this expression was often sufficient reason for the child to go home, as the degree of anxiety established by such a communique was high. Also, the way of life, routines, regulations, climate, and food were all areas of adjustment that had to be faced by students attending boarding schools from outlying villages. Little imagination is required to perceive the difficulties some of these adjustments would present for the individual coming from a small Arctic or Interior village to the massive high schools at Mount Edgecumbe or Sitka in Southeastern Alaska. The Arctic and Interior climates are very different from that of Southeastern Alaska. The use of the physical facilities of the boarding schools would be a completely new experience for most students who are unfamiliar with running water, flush toilets, and regularly heated buildings. Food served at these institutions would be unfamiliar to students accustomed to meat and fish diets and to eating when hungry; the routine of getting to a large dining room at a scheduled time and facing the whole new array of food often proves to be a source of difficulty not easily overcome.

TABLE 20

CONCEPT OF EMPLOYMENT VALUE OF EDUCATION ATTAINED BY 270 DROPOUT RESPONDENTS

EMPLOYMENT VALUE	NUMBER OF DROPOUTS	PER CENT
No value	43	15.9
Very little value	31	11.5
Some value	56	20.7
Quite a bit of value	71	26.3
High value	37	13.7
Don't know	4	1.5
Not given	28	10.4
TOTAL	270	100.0

TABLE 21

HIGH SCHOOL COURSES CONSIDERED TO BE OF EMPLOYMENT VALUE BY 270 DROPOUT RESPONDENTS

COURSES	NUMBER OF DROPOUTS	PER CENT
Language Arts	49	18.2
Home Economics[1]	48	17.8
Mathematics	43	15.9
Shop	29	10.7
Commercial	6	2.2
Sciences	0	0.0
All	12	4.4
None	42	15.6
Don't know	5	1.9
Not given	36	13.3
TOTAL	270	100.0

[1] Includes vocational baking for males.

Some of the most pervasive comments of interviewees pertained to the size of dormitories at Mount Edgecumbe and Sheldon Jackson High Schools, the mixing of racial groups, and the degree of supervision encountered. The latter area of concern was perceived as a basic lack of trust, a lack of privacy, and an insult to personal maturity.

The native student who arrives at boarding school is usually about fifteen years old. He has assumed and fulfilled in most instances adult roles in the village. The male has hunted and trapped with his father, thus establishing himself as a capable provider and gaining the right to associate with men. The female has attended childbirths, cared for younger children, and assumed household responsibilities in keeping with social expectations. In both cases, students have met adult standards and experienced some adult privileges. Most have, for example, been smoking for a considerable number of months, have been free to make decisions about their use of leisure time, and have had little adult supervision. Few students have broken their society's trust, and most have become fairly responsible people. These same individuals are then transported to schools where constant adult vigilance is imposed, where they cannot walk farther than two city blocks without an escort, where smoking is permitted only in given places at specified times, and where rigid schedules are in effect from early morning to late evening. Students have relatively little free time and almost no personal privacy or freedom. That students perceive these restrictions as being of great magnitude is apparent. Schools are not to be indicted for their regulations, since many of the restrictions are necessary in administering a sound and healthy program, but personnel should be aware of the pressures such regulations exert upon the individual who is meeting them for the first time. The resentment expressed by many of the interviewees was not always of the regulations but of the ways in which they are enforced.

The final area of personal problems contributing to the dropout rate is that of adherence to established social and regulatory procedures in school. School records indicate that approximately 15 per cent of the dropouts represented disciplinary problems defined as students showing lack of self-discipline. Four per cent of the dropouts were expelled, jailed, or put on probation for consuming alcoholic beverages in town or in the dormitories. Homesickness accounted for 3 per cent of the personal problems identified, and pregnancy caused 4 per cent of the females to be expelled. Little evidence was reported of theft or truancy. The incidence of truancy is extremely low and a differentiating feature between this study and others where absenteeism is high. One explanation of this fact is that the major part of this sample is drawn from boarding school students whose opportunities for absenteeism are easily controlled through supervision of dormitories and classes. Also, the interviewees stated that they had no desire to be truants; for when the situation got to that point, they simply left school entirely. Homesickness, general unhappiness, and inability to adjust to the school situation seems to have often been expressed in general lassitude or in minor infractions such as fighting and rebellion against regulations.

One problem which appears to have serious undertones is the incidence of alcoholism among adolescents. This problem is currently being encountered in the villages and is of deep concern to the elders. For most adolescents this is a procedure tried and discarded as more interesting activities present themselves. In the cases under consideration, however, the individuals have become persistent violators, and legal and other serious outcomes have resulted. It would seem that for such individuals the alcohol has ceased to be an experiment and has become an outlet for the series of frustrations and for feelings of inadequacy emerging from what is perceived as a hopeless situation.

COMMUNITY AND HOME RELATED FACTORS IN DROPOUT

Community Attitudes toward Education

Each community sets up certain expectations for its young. In the average non-native community, education is considered to be one of the socializing essentials of life, and the expectations are such that most children never consider whether or not they will attend high school. They simply go. In the average Alaskan community, the schools have been established long enough so that the expectation for educational achievement is set at grades six to eight. Few communities, however, present any tradition of children's attending secondary school without serious consideration. Since village high schools are rare, the problem is made more complex by the necessity of sending children to a school located many miles away.

Many hurdles remain before secondary education is established in the minds of villagers as the norm. Education must first prove itself. To date, the major selling point has been one of economic advancement. Yet in most instances education has made no difference in the employability of individuals in the villages because of the nature of the jobs available. As stated previously, the commercial fisherman is at no advantage and may even be at a disadvantage because of his education. Types of jobs available to males include fishing, longshoring, taxi-driving, and construction. For the girls, there are babysitting, housecleaning, and other such service jobs which require little or no education. Such jobs as medical assistants and secretaries are possibilities which seem to give the girls some advantage in comparison with the boys. However, unless an unusual job is available in the village, most of the employment does not require formal education. Therefore, the argument that wage employment exists for the educated is without fact in most of Alaska where seasonal employment is the major source of income for both the native and the non-native resident.

A distinct lack of communication is found between the schools and the communities in Alaska which results in rather confused expectations on the part of parents and indeed on the part of teachers. In one village, a parent was irate because his son could not repair the outboard motor. The father wanted to know what his son had been learning at school all winter when he could not even fix the "kicker." Great hostility was expressed toward the schools by parents and other community members because of a similar lack of understanding of the schools' function and educational objectives. One of the parents interviewed expressed the attitude that the greatest disadvantage of sending children away to school was that they become alienated toward the parents' affection and way of life. "They don't seem to love us or understand what we do when they come back. They don't want to do nothing like before. All they want to do is drink and dance." These sentiments were expressed more often in reference to girls than to boys. For the males, it is still pleasant and interesting to hunt even if they no longer perceive this activity as an ultimate way of life. Girls no longer assume the tasks of cleaning the game and helping with meals and laundry under primitive conditions without complaint, and in many cases refuse to undertake such chores, thus challenging parental authority for the first time. It seems natural that the schools are blamed by parents for these changes which have become apparent after the adolescents' return from school.

Thus many parents felt they would prefer to send their children to available local mission high schools or to keep them at home so that family ties would remain relatively intact. On this matter the Commission on the Rights, Liberties and Responsibilities of the American Indian states:

> . . . to put a child in a boarding school away from his parents may result in a lack of orientation in either Indian or any other civilization. Even limited schooling may be preferable to the destruction of family and cultural ties and resultant emotional and moral instability.[1]

Many parents, communities, and other interested people would agree with this statement.

Edward Parmee, writing on social factors affecting the education of Apaches, makes several salient points of relevance to this study:

> If there is a degree of resistance or disinterest on the part of some Apaches for the education program, we might perhaps consider the following—first, basically, in terms of its underlying philosophy, structure and operations, the education program for the San Carlos Apaches is still, to a great extent, a foreign enterprise. Even after many years of having a program of education on the reservation, Apaches are still not included to any real degree of responsibility, in the planning and operation of this program. There are no Apache school boards, PTA's, or other local organizations with Apache origin directly connected to the schools that the children attend. . . . A second reason for possible resistance and lack of interest on the part of some Apaches concerns the possibility that some of the chief goals of the education program for the Apaches are aimed in direct opposition to the real desires of a large number of the people.[2]

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[1] _A Program for Indian Citizens_, p. 30.

[2] Edward Parmee, "Social Factors Affecting the Education of the San Carlos Apaches," Report given at the Annual Conference of the Co-ordinating Council for Research

Renaud puts it still another way:

> Basically, however, from a combined anthropological and pedagogical point of view, the obstacles to the Indian pupil's successful schooling or, to put it differently, the special problems that challenge his teacher, stem from the conflict between two living cultures, that of the Indian community in which the pupil has grown up and will probably live most of his life, and that of the nation into which both child and community must eventually integrate.[1]

While Parmee and Renaud were concerned primarily with Indians on reservations, Alaska is not without some of the same problems, attitudes, and circumstances described; the fact that the Indians in the studies cited have a higher degree of acculturation than the Alaskan groups perhaps serves to provide additional emphasis to the current findings. The educational systems in Alaska are not particularly geared to the economy, philosophy, or culture of most of the people to be educated in them. Selected features of policy and curricula of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the state school systems will be discussed more fully in a later section of the study. But the attitudes of the people toward the educational agencies are dependent upon their understanding of the instructional policies and goals of the schools. A wide gap exists in communication between the community and the schools in most villages. The questionnaire sent to all school personnel in native

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in Indian Education (Phoenix: Arizona State Department of Public Instruction, 1961), p. 24. (Mimeographed.)

[1] Andre Renaud, "Indian Education Today," Anthropologica, No. 6 (Ottawa: Research Center for Amerindian Anthropology, University of Ottawa, 1958), 48.

schools in Alaska requested teachers to indicate the degree to which they believed parents understood the education their children were receiving. Most teachers indicated that understanding was low or moderate at best. A majority of the teachers responded that they believed the school should try to help improve community understanding of the school through such methods as parent-teacher associations, individual conferences, and adult education.

Unfortunately, however, very little is being done to acquaint parents with the school's program. Reasons for this poor communication appear to be complex. School personnel felt that the native people are not interested in the school's purposes, while others believed that the community would regard any approach by the school personnel as interference in their traditional way of life. Most teachers stated that they were there to teach the children and that all other matters should be left to the community itself. In some instances, even more negative comments were expressed. When asked at a village council meeting to explain the school policy on strapping, one principal responded by asserting that the school was not established by the people and that the villagers, therefore, had nothing to say about what went on in the school.

Many parents expressed the desire to know more about the school and wished to be consulted on school matters. They were hesitant, however, to express these desires to the teachers and to take issue with any of the existing school policies. The situation is very diverse, changing from village to village and from region to region. The overall attitude on the part of the teachers seems to be a pervasive feeling that they cannot "break through" to gain community understanding, hence they stop trying.

The fact that parents do not understand the school programs contributes to the lack of pressure exerted on children to complete a defined number of years of school. Teachers' failure to understand the mores, values, and culture of the villagers results in their establishing unrealistic expectations for students. Until mutual school-community understanding is improved, little hope exists that current problems can be mitigated.

Socio-economic Status of Parents

The socio-economic status of parents is usually defined for non-native groups as upper, middle, and lower class with all the implied value systems and cultural connotations. In the Alaskan native hierarchy, such distinctions can be made not only within the Indian, Aleut, and Eskimo groups themselves but also in relation to Western standards. Little purpose is served in equating the class system of non-natives to the Alaskan native community. In such terms all would be lower-class citizens socially and economically. And the implied similarity of value systems would be erroneous since the two groups are not comparable. It becomes necessary, then, to look at the native society from a different point of view.

Socio-economic standards of the majority of natives are well below those enjoyed by average Americans. Since we seek to educate the native child according to non-native standards utilizing the same curriculum as that employed in an "average" American school, such differences become important. Renaud emphasizes this point by stating:

> Such socio-economic factors [poor housing, little income] have a definite bearing on the cultural growth of Indian children. Not only do they account for a very limited exposure to our culture and for certain operational and behaviour patterns that are found in similar socio-economic groups of ethnic background other than Indian; they also explain the perseverance of many cultural traits and traditions at variance with the global Canadian [American] cultural complex.[1]

Factors in the home which retard the educational progress of the Alaskan natives are mainly beyond the direct control or influence of the State Department of Education, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, or the individual teacher. Problems evolving from the socio-economic status of parents come under the jurisdiction of many departments of government, public health agencies, and related groups. For example, the incidence of tuberculosis, general health practices, malnutrition, disease, residual defects from illness, and other such problems cannot possibly be mitigated within the schoolroom. But since these factors affect the educational achievement of students, teachers should learn to recognize symptoms and consider their effect on learning. In one school, the record of a dropout was traced back to first grade. Through the grades his personal folder contained such remarks as "listless," "lazy," "no motivation," "unwilling to learn." In grade nine he entered a sanatorium with a serious case of tuberculosis. In nine years no teacher had referred this child for medical evaluation! The same type of example can be found in many other schools. A desperate need is evident to develop a program which will provide for adult health education and for general community development. Such a program would assist the people in achieving a higher standard of living and help to assure them of average health, adequate nutrition, and freedom from debilitating factors emerging from their current socio-economic situation.

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[1] Renaud, op. cit., p. 35.

Employment of "breadwinners" is needed so that sufficient income is available to provide comfortable housing, adequate clothing, and sufficient food for the family. Most native males are employed for only a part of each year. Income is derived primarily from such work as commercial fishing in which income ranges from very high to very low depending upon the season. Some unskilled and semi-skilled jobs are available on a seasonal basis also. Few mothers of dropout students are employed. Income for native families is extremely low and little significant difference was found in the economic status of parents of graduates and non-graduates. From observation in the villages, however, graduates appeared to come from better constructed, larger, cleaner homes than did dropouts.

However, several graduates lived in very poor, small, crowded homes. Conditions in the village underlined the tremendous gap which exists between the log cabin on the shore of a river and the massive, modern institutions at Mount Edgecumbe, Sheldon Jackson, and other boarding schools. The striking fact is not that children drop out but that they graduate.

In summary, the socio-economic status of parents plays a major part in the school achievement of their children. The low-income families cannot provide adequate housing, thus there is a lack of space for study and privacy and too few hours of uninterrupted sleep because of the necessary overcrowding. Low income also penalizes the child from the standpoint of health since it means he has a minimal amount of food and insufficient clothing which contribute to poor physical and mental stamina. The socio-economic status of parents determines as well the cultural opportunities the child is afforded and consequently imposes certain limitations which accompany him to school. These problems cannot be solved by the school; yet the recognition of such factors may lead to better relationships between teacher and student and help the school establish more realistic expectations with regard to the academic performance of students.[1]

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[1] Both state and Bureau of Indian Affairs school systems have authorized lunch programs which help immeasurably to alleviate nutrition problems, especially during the winter when food is often scarce. Also, in many villages health programs have been established under the supervision of the public health services and carried out in co-operation with the schools.

Home Atmosphere

The child who has a satisfying home environment is more likely to develop the self-confidence and security which enable him to move out of the family circle with only minor adjustments to face. Those who have lived among the Alaskan natives agree that family relationships are, on the whole, warm and intimate. Paradoxically, however, close family ties sometimes make the move from the villages to the boarding high schools difficult for students, who become lonesome and homesick. Parents are also anxious while their children are away and miss them.

The warmth and intimacy of family relationships even contribute to dropout in the sense that the absence of significant and warm relationships in school make life too lonely and too unhappy for the majority of students who must leave home to attend high school. Therefore, when they return home for holidays, they want to remain in the village where life is much more intimate. In all graduate interviews, the students stated the reason they remained in school was that a certain teacher or individual encouraged them to complete their education. In other words, there was one individual who really cared and to whom the student could relate in a significant way. One of the major complaints of the dropouts interviewed was that few of them felt that among the large number of people with whom they had contact at school any single person cared about what was happening to them as individuals. The tremendous void created by the move from home to boarding school cannot be discounted but presents a serious contributing factor to dropout.

Table 22 shows the home background of both graduates and non-graduates. The figures indicate that secondary school students come from homes classified primarily as "normal" although a relatively high rate of parental mortality was determined. In case of the death of both parents, many students live with relatives and enjoy the same close relationships that would have existed in their own homes. However, these cases have been kept separate. A proportionately higher number of parents of dropouts were deceased, which may account for the decision of the child to leave school in order to help at home, especially in the case of the boy whose father dies or the girl whose mother dies leaving small children to be cared for. Our own society would provide other solutions, and the teenager would remain in school. However, in Alaskan native society expectations are such that older children assume required household responsibilities as the need appears.

The hypothesis was developed that the ordinal position of the child in the family might be a factor in dropout; conceivably the eldest child might be expected to leave school in order to help at home. The data shows that most dropout students are "middle" children. Thus the sibling position of dropouts is not significant. Similar conclusions were reached in other studies.

In summary, the dropout problem is closely related

TABLE 22

COMPARISON OF HOME BACKGROUNDS OF 1078 DROPOUT STUDENTS WITH THAT OF 991 GRADUATE STUDENTS

HOME BACKGROUNDS	NUMBER OF GRADUATES	NUMBER OF DROPOUTS
Normal[a] family situation	636	677
Both parents deceased	90	13
Mother only deceased	102	85
Father only deceased	119	100
Parents separated/divorced	28	18
Father not at home[b]	6	8
Mother not at home[b]	0	1
Parents living, student lives elsewhere	2	33
Parents deceased, student lives with relatives	5	82
Parents deceased, student ward of State	0	22
Parents living, student ward of State[c]	0	17
Not given	3	22
TOTAL	991	1078

[a] *Normal* is defined arbitrarily as meaning both parents are living and the family is a functioning social unit. Foster parents are also included in this category.

[b] In sanitaria, hospital, or prison--no legal separation or divorce.

[c] Child protection; juvenile detention.

to much larger and more complex socio-economic problems faced by members of the native population. Lack of available employment results in low economic status which in turn is associated with illness, dietary deficiency, marginal and residual health problems, inadequate housing. These and related factors seriously limit the pupil's mental stamina and, therefore, his educational achievement. Seemingly the dropout student is affected more than the continuing student. Attitudes of the community and of the individual family members in particular are important factors in determining causes of early school leaving. The crux of the dropout problem seems to be a lack of communication between community and school and, therefore, an inadequate definition of the effect of one upon the other. Parents fail to provide the incentives for children to continue their schooling. Unrealistic expectations develop on the part of school personnel regarding the achievement and motivation of students. Finally, the home atmosphere of students is primarily "normal." Family relationships are characteristically warm and intimate which adds to the problems of adjustment for the child who goes away to school but does not have anyone with whom he can establish close and significant relationships. This complexity of socio-economic factors cannot be solved simply by the educational systems, by individual teachers, nor by the communities themselves. However, an awareness of such factors by school personnel would contribute to more satisfactory school-community relationships and would perhaps reduce the pressure on students who are faced with demands they neither understand nor can fulfill.

SCHOOL RELATED FACTORS IN DROPOUT

Student Academic Success or Failure

As stated at the beginning of the chapter, the intelligence level of most dropouts as well as graduates was below average when compared to standardized test norms. However, as evaluated by their teachers—admittedly highly subjective in Alaska as elsewhere—the majority of native students was considered to be average. Sixty-nine per cent of the dropout students had no failures in any courses and an additional 15 per cent had only one failure. The remaining 16 per cent experienced failure in two to five subjects. Graduates, on the other hand, had primarily no failures with only one student failing two or more subjects. By comparison, the graduates appear to achieve at a higher level than the dropout student which is evidenced by the graduate's higher grades, lack of failure, and better total academic and personal adjustment to the school situation. However, the dropout does not stand out as a failing student academically. This fact is in contrast to conclusions in similar studies conducted in other areas which show that the student dropout has been a constant repeater and has experienced considerable academic difficulty. Allen states:

> Most dropouts are unsuccessful in schoolwork. . . . A Detroit study reported similar findings: one or

> more grade failures in elementary school—more than half of them in the first three grades—in 76 percent of the cases, and one or more subject failures in high school in 93 percent of the cases.[1]

Perhaps one explanation that would account for this difference in the Alaskan dropout is that in most instances he is the best student from the village. Because of the lack of secondary school facilities only the better students are admitted to the high schools. The student who would normally number among the failures in academic areas, therefore, never has the opportunity to attempt this work.

It is interesting to note what subjects are failed by both student graduates and non-graduates. English is failed most often by students in all schools. A close second for failure is the social sciences. This fact is not surprising since the ability to draw meaning from what is read and to read well are closely related to the ability to assimilate such concepts as history and the other social science requirments. Mathematics does not seem to give great trouble; perhaps the explanation lies in the fact that computation can be learned mechanically and does not require language as a tool to the same extent that the social studies do. Also, conceivably the fact that mathematics is frequently an elective subject accounts for low failure. Students who do not do well in this subject often avoid it.

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[1] Allen, op. cit., p. 8.

The Language Problem

One of the major problems of teaching in Alaska is to meet the educational requirements of the bilingual student. Through the grades, little emphasis appears to be placed on the teaching of English as a second language. Research studies in other areas where students come to school with a different language background from the language of instruction have indicated that little difficulty is experienced in the first few years of schooling. However, when English and reading in particular become tool subjects, the general level of difficulty increases and a definite drop occurs in reading and language ability which has not been noticeable earlier. This language difficulty in itself does not account for the progressive retardation which sets in at the intermediate grade level; it is symptomatic, however, of a much larger problem. Coombs states:

> One other finding . . . has attracted considerable attention, partly because it is not hard to grasp, although the causes behind it are not so easy to understand. That finding was that while the achievement of Indian children compared very favorably with that of their white classmates, and even with national norms, at the fourth and fifth grade levels, it fell progressively behind as the higher grades were reached until by the 11th and 12th grades, Indian pupils were typically from a grade and a half to two grades below the national norms. . . .
>
> The relatively high achievement of Indian pupils in the lower grades is explained by the fact that the learning content at those grades tends to fall within the learning experiences which most children share in common--home, mother, father, brothers, sisters, pets, nature, etc.--a fairly circumscribed world. But as the higher grades are reached, the world of learning broadens out, the introduction of unfamiliar material increases, and the introduction of increasingly

> abstract concepts multiplies. Before long, the pupil may be expected to go beyond a point which his parents or community has ever reached and they are powerless to help him. Similarly, it is not strange that the Indian children would tend to do better in spelling and arithmetic calculation than in English vocabulary and arithmetic reasoning. For the former are to a great degree rote skills which most of us learn in school, while we draw upon many sources, out of school as well as in, for our vocabulary, and arithmetic reasoning depends upon concepts which have meaning only if supported by life itself.[1]

When such retardation begins at the intermediate grade level, by the time the student enters secondary school he is not only deficient in language skills but also lacks adequate knowledge of the basic subject area concepts. The pedagogical problems of teaching English as a second language should be thoroughly investigated to insure adequate instructional techniques which will minimize the rate of retardation and ultimate dropout.

Some schools have begun to deal with the language problem in one way or another. In the Nome elementary school, for example, a remedial English program was organized in the autumn of 1960 and a full-time remedial teacher was employed. The results are most encouraging. Children who tested well below grade level in reading and language skills at the beginning of the year approached the norm in most cases at some point within the school year. In some instances where the retardation was as great as two or three grade levels, the academic lag was corrected in one nine-month period through special instruction. Such results indicate that the problem can be dealt with when a well-directed and specially-oriented program is put into effect. General grades of pupils in the remedial English program were also improved.

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[1] L. Madison Coombs, "Implications of the Achievement Level of Indian Students," Report given at the Annual Conference of the Co-ordinating Council for Research in Indian Education (Phoenix: Arizona State Department of Public Instruction, 1961), pp. 3-4. (Mimeographed.)

The academic success or failure of the pupil in secondary school is determined by such factors as his background experience and the concepts he has when he arrives at high school, the general cultural patterns he has assimilated throughout the years which color his perceptions and determine his reactions, and his technical skills—especially in language. Although school failure was not found to be a major cause for dropout, no student can withstand lack of success. Thus the realism of the standards set by any secondary school determine in part the rate of dropout for that school. If standards are unrealistic, grading policies rigid, and demands beyond the academic level of the students, little opportunity exists for success, and students are not likely to remain in a situation which offers them only opportunity for failure. This statement should not be interpreted as a plea for lowering of academic expectations but rather as a recommendation for a realistic and honest appraisal of the abilities and backgrounds of students enrolled in a particular school. The development of sound teaching methods will help the student to achieve at his optimum level.

Type and Location of High Schools

In the course of interviewing dropouts, their parents, and other community residents the question of future school locations arose. Parents often asked why their village could not have a high school so that children would not have to travel so far. Many parents reported that they would not allow their child to return to high school because they did not know what was happening when he was so far away. They worried about their child's being lonely, sick, or perhaps getting into trouble. Several parents stated that the school's being so far away accounted for certain problems which the children encountered, such as drinking, rule infractions, and pregnancies in particular. That the dropout rate tends to rise at the end of the ninth grade is understandable.

Consideration was given to types of schools which might be appropriate for rural children. Because of the small size of the sample of parents and community leaders interviewed, no conclusive statements can be made. However, some mention might be made of the attitudes expressed by those people in the course of interviews, and it should be noted that opinions on this subject were not solicited but rather comments were interjected during conversations on related issues. Several parents thought that local mission schools taught their children to behave better than did Mount Edgecumbe High School. In part, the behavior was judged in terms of lack of pregnancies, drinking, and general "lazing around"[1] which admittedly are somewhat controlled by community and family—factors lacking in the boarding school situations. Several parents mentioned that they preferred to send their children to Sheldon Jackson High School because, interestingly, it was believed that since fees are paid the educational program must be better than that at Mount Edgecumbe High School, which is free. It was also commonly assumed that children must receive better supervision since Sheldon Jackson High School is a religious institution. While the basic premises inherent in such opinions are questionable, a germ of validity may exist. Progressive social agencies recognize that when payment is offered, no matter how small, for services rendered, the sense of indebtedness which is often demoralizing to the individual is mitigated. However, the low income received by the average native family certainly argues for continued free public education which will not eliminate any child because of his inability to pay tuition. And regardless of income, the concept of a free public school serving all segments of the population is a basic foundation of our American society.

Some expression, too, was received which related to the fact that Sheldon Jackson was a smaller high school than Mount Edgecumbe and, therefore, must provide more individual attention to children. The students themselves expressed a similar opinion in the sense that the pupils at Sheldon Jackson seldom cited the lack of personal concern as a reason for leaving school. At Copper Valley High School the staff spends a considerable amount of time with students in the evenings since many classroom teachers act as supervisors and counselors as well. Students seemed to like the close contacts permitted under such a system and spoke in glowing terms of their teachers whom they got to know well. Of course, several parents liked the mission schools because of the religious emphasis they provided and which parents felt was lacking at Mount Edgecumbe and other public high schools. Conversely, other parents refused to send their children to the mission schools because of the religious emphasis.

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[1] The incidence of these problems is low but looms large in the minds of individual parents who generalize and believe that such behavior is more typical than it actually is.

Many parents expressed the desire to send their children to Mount Edgecumbe rather than to the local public or mission school because they felt that Mount Edgecumbe provided more interesting experiences both educationally and recreationally for their children and believed that this school gave the students opportunities to mix with other people and to travel. The additional expenses of clothing, spending money, etc., required for boarding school provided too great a financial burden for some parents, however, and they encouraged their children to attend school locally or not at all.

On the whole it appears that where local facilities are provided they are used in preference to the boarding schools. Curiously, dropout rates do not appreciably decrease simply by having the child live at home while attending school. For example, the dropout rates at Nome, Bethel, and Dillingham did not differ significantly from dropout rates in the boarding schools. However, there was a greater tendency for children to begin high school in the home villages than to decide to leave home. As far as the boarding schools are concerned, Mount Edgecumbe is considered highly with regard to the opportunities afforded and in the experiences of general living provided, although it is also viewed with some suspicion and blamed for alienation of affection, held responsible for individual changes in values, and thought to be permissive of promiscuity.

In summary, local public high schools were considered to be the most satisfactory secondary school arrangement, although boarding schools, both public and private, received their share of staunch supporters. It is not within the nature of this study to examine these statements critically nor to plead the case of any particular type of school. However, parental opinions are important and help determine in part whether a child goes to high school and how long he stays there.

School Policies

Policies of schools affect students in myriad ways and are reflected in many subtle and pervasive forms. No attempt has been made to analyze all the regulations of each school included in this study. However, some of the rules commented upon by students and parents bear close examination. Frequently, these regulations assume significance to the individual and perhaps determine whether he completes the secondary school grades. Consideration will be given, therefore, to those values most frequently mentioned by students and parents as being related to dropout. The teacher questionnaire also provided supportive information related to this topic.

Most high school students believed that the rules of the schools they attended were reasonable. Negative attitudes expressed about these regulations related primarily to social privileges and curtailment of what were perceived to be personal rights. Boarding school students felt that their "town" privileges were excessively restrictive and that supervision given by school personnel was too extensive. It is difficult to assess how many of these attitudes are attributable to normal adolescent rebellion against controls and how many are legitimate complaints. Many pupils felt that the rules themselves were not so unreasonable but that the methods of enforcement were unecessarily harsh and rigid. A few students became especially concerned over discipline, since they believed that their own values and trustworthiness were being attacked. One incident mentioned frequently related to the supervision provided at Mount Edgecumbe High School during motion picture shows. Many students reported with resentment that matrons patrolled the aisles of the theater with flashlights and reprimanded students who were holding hands. Not only did this action interrupt the film, but it also implied lack of trust and absence of personal responsibility. Examples were given by students at other boarding schools of similar incidents. Of course, supervision is necessary, but a different type of enforcement would lessen pupil resentment toward the schools and their personnel.

Many of the schools' disciplinary actions met with criticism from both students and parents. Punishments meted out for various infractions seemed to be singularly misunderstood by parents and pupils alike. Parents whose children had been expelled for such infractions as smoking in the dormitories, going to town without a pass, and other offenses failed to understand why these matters were of such importance. In several instances students who had been expelled or refused readmittance due to pregnancy expressed sincere lack of understanding as to why pregnancy should affect their academic status. Several girls felt they should have been readmitted after the births of their children. It appears that in such cases, the school's position is clear to the administrators but has not been communicated to the departing students nor to their parents.

Regulations pertaining to punctuality and time schedules also conflicted with normal behavioral patterns common to native youth. Students were reprimanded and in many cases punished for being tardy. One dropout stated that he left school because he was tired of being late all the time. When asked to explain, he related that he was not used to hurrying and that he was consistently late in arising, getting to meals, and arriving at classes. For this tardiness, he received frequent reprimands from supervising teachers. Since he felt that not enough time was allowed to go from place to place and that his pace could not be accelerated, he decided to return home where life moved at a more familiar speed. While this example is rather unique, several students felt pressured by the rigidity of schedules which forced them to arrive at a given place in a prescribed length of time. The conflict is understandable from the students' point of view, since in the majority of villages time is very flexible and tasks are completed when needed but never on a tight, unchanging schedule. In day schools tardiness was reported as a problem but did not present the same type of pressure to students as in boarding schools because freedom existed after school when a more normal tempo could be resumed. Teacher attitudes reflected a disapproving tone in which the students' inability to arrive at school and complete assignments on time were interpreted as examples of lack of responsible behavior.

Sheldon Jackson High School has recently relaxed some of its disciplinary regulations. Students found smoking, drinking, entering town without passes, etc., are reprimanded, but expulsion is contingent upon additional factors determined in each individual situation rather than being mandatory as it was several years ago.

Personnel

Researchers studying school dropouts report that students who leave school early have usually failed to communicate with any one teacher and have felt that school personnel were indifferent toward this vital decision. Allen states that dropouts "felt that few or none of their teachers cared about them as persons. They also indicated that they received less help from their teachers than they needed."[1] Conversely, graduates report that one of the major factors which held them in school was encouragement from one or several teachers. According to Allen, ". . . The personal interest taken in a youngster by a single teacher was strong enough to outweigh all the forces pulling the child away from school."[2]

This study confirms such earlier findings. As one dropout stated, "I felt as if I was just one more student and if I left the teachers would be glad to have one less." Similar expressions from other dropouts interviewed were common; the pervasive comment was that no one person really cared and no one ever encouraged them to continue. Supporting data showed that in almost all cases students who left school consulted no one about their decision (fewer than 100 of the 1078 dropouts conferred with anyone), and their failure to return to high school did not invite any particular attention.

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[1] Allen, op. cit., p. 16.

[2] Ibid., p. 18.

The failure of teachers and students to establish close relationships seems related to several causes. First, each comes from such a different background that difficulty occurs in developing mutual understanding without a concerted effort on the parts of both teacher and student. Since teachers are in the positions of authority and control and possess key professional training, it would seem reasonable to hope that school personnel would become familiar with community traditions in the hope of achieving a better understanding of the people among whom they work. Unfortunately, the state and the Bureau of Indian Affairs programs do not allow sufficient time for teacher orientation which should include information about the native cultures. With most teachers recruited from outside Alaska, it is unlikely that such information could have been acquired elsewhere. High teacher-turnover rates might be mitigated if better opportunities for developing teacher understanding of the commonly encountered value conflicts were available. Several teachers reported that they felt there was no point in their teaching in the village since they weren't "getting anywhere." Of those who intended to stay, many had long abandoned hope of establishing any clear communication within the community. While a number of teachers saw no need for understanding community values, most simply regretted not having available pertinent information which would improve their teaching. Hopkins, a teacher and administrator in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools for several years, commented:

> A consulting anthropologist might be advantageously utilized by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Alaska Branch. There are many cultural phenomena that teachers are not aware of or do not understand and no matter how diligently they may toil or how professional their intentions may be, their teaching is often thwarted by this lack of awareness or understanding and they may become personally and professionally depressed and ineffectual. Many "bushed" teachers could be salvaged and rejuvenated if they had someone to consult who thoroughly understood native lifeways and who could offer some practical suggestions and support.[1]

For teachers in the boarding schools, the problem of understanding the background of native students is compounded by lack of village contacts. One cannot conceptualize the environment of the student unless he has actually spent some time in a remote village. An encouraging practice was noted when, in the spring of 1961, the Bureau of Indian Affairs sent the principal and the guidance counselor from Mount Edgecumbe High School on a familiarization trip to the students' home communities. If this practice continues, at least key administrators will gain additional insights into the lives of their students; hopefully the practice could be extended to include teaching personnel.

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[1] Thomas R. Hopkins, "Educational Provisions for the Alaskan Natives Since 1867" (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Texas, 1959), p. 114.

The selection of school personnel presents one of the most time-consuming and exacting tasks faced by the superintendent. In Alaska, personnel selection is additionally difficult because distances do not permit administrators to interview applicants, nor can applicants see the area or school in which they will teach. The Alaskan school requires teachers who are not only competent and qualified in professional areas but also individuals with stability and resourcefulness which will help them in times of stress. The relative isolation of Alaska's schools requires personnel to draw upon their own resources for entertainment and stimulation. Good personnel are recruited for Alaska but it is frequently difficult to retain them in the villages. The rate and effect of teacher-turnover in state and Bureau of Indian Affairs schools was described in an earlier study.[1] Subsequently, improvement in teacher qualification has been noted. Currently, only twenty-nine out of 377 teachers who responded to the questionnaire are without degrees or teacher qualifications. However, only 150 teachers have the required number of hours in elementary education demanded by the state. Of interest was the fact that over half the respondents had one to five years of teaching experience in Alaska and that only eighty-nine persons had no teaching experience at all at the time of response. Two hundred and twenty-nine teachers reported that they planned to make teaching in Alaska a career, while seventy-six were uncertain, and sixty-six stated that they definitely would not remain in Alaska. If these responses remain constant, the rate of turnover should be reduced considerably and the teaching force in Alaska should continue to stabilize. Certainly advantages will accrue from such trends, especially in the small villages where the adjustment every year or two to a new teacher defeats the hope of developing a sound school-community relationship and a good educational program.

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[1] Ray, op. cit., pp. 234-51.

Attitudes of school personnel and students toward each other are of prime importance in the day-to-day school atmosphere. The attitudes of teachers toward students are primarily positive or neutral. However, certain negative expressions indicate some degree of discrimination against minority groups, usually involving beliefs in stereotyped images. For example, several teachers expressed the opinion that natives were incapable of learning very much because, after all, they had not become thoroughly acculturated in "all the years of education they've had." Such thinking on the part of teachers surely leads to a lack of effort on the part of the student, who senses that the adult feels "there's not much hope" for him. Another prevalent idea which appeared during the interviews was that the only "hope" for the native student was for him to go to boarding school and thus be removed from the influence of home and community. Such suggestions imply that vestiges of native culture should be erased, hence encouraging a complete conversion to non-native values. Results of such beliefs when stated implicitly in the classroom—and in some cases explicitly—led to feelings in the community that there was something "wrong" with being native. Subsequent attitudes of defensiveness and inferiority established barriers between the teacher and the child which will not easily be overcome.

On the whole, it might be said that the relationships between teacher and pupil are primarily adequate but that much remains to be accomplished before the necessary degree of mutual understanding is developed which is so essential to a good school program.

Curriculum

The state and the Bureau of Indian Affairs curricula were discussed in an earlier study, and the difficulties of providing an adequate school program for students spread so thinly throughout the state were pointed out.[1] Additionally, the following issue was posed:

> A basic question pertinent to all high schools is whether the education offered at these institutions makes any difference in the lives of youth who attend.[2]

The fallacy of the statement that a high school education will raise the standard of living of Alaskan natives mainly through making them eligible for employment has already been pointed out. Youth in this study have found little relationship between their education and their current way of life. Most dropouts are unemployed, although they are able to obtain the same seasonal jobs available to their friends who have not had secondary education. Among the graduates, a slightly higher rate of employment than among dropout students is evidenced, but the difference is not sufficiently significant to support the tenet that education makes the difference. Boys who return to the village obtain employment as laborers, fishermen, and mechanics; girls marry, babysit, do housework, or work as waitresses. Graduates are in approximately the same types of jobs as the dropouts, with the exception of a few who hold skilled jobs. A high percentage of graduates attend technical schools after completion of high school, and it is this training which apparently provides job opportunities.

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 117-32; 175-83.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 128.

Responses to the questionnaire and field interviews indicate that dropouts are interested in the jobs currently available to them and do not perceive education as a factor in providing new types of employment opportunities. A few girls thought they would like to work as medical assistants or secretaries. However, among all respondents and interviewees, not a single individual mentioned any of the professional occupations as possibilities for his life's work. Indications are that the level of aspiration of the majority of students is in keeping with realistic goals, although local models such as teachers, pilots, nurses and doctors have not seemingly sparked in these young people any great interest in moving beyond their immediate environment.

Most students indicated that their education had been of some value, but when asked to cite specific ways in which it had helped, few were able to comment. Parents enumerated courses in home economics and in shop which had been of greatest value to their children. Again, enthusiasm was shown for those courses which were immediately applicable. Perhaps here the breach between the community and the school concepts of the role of education becomes most apparent. Smith, Stanley, and Shores state:

> The relations between school and society are important enough in a period of relatively little social change. In a time of profound social change, the relationship is even more important because society then is not all of one piece. Old and new social elements are to be found side by side—and frequently in competition with one another for survival.[1]

The authors further state:

> In societies where fundamental associations are breaking down under the impact of new social forces, fewer standards of conduct and elements of knowledge will be picked up informally, and these will tend to be inconsistent and conflicting. . . . The demands made upon the school with regard to this problem will be correspondingly more taxing, and failure to meet them will be frought with social disaster.[2]

Finally, Smith, Stanley and Shores add:

> The task of curriculum building will be principally that of constructing the curriculum so that cultural elements, both new and old, will be mutually adjusted and a new cultural synthesis achieved. The task is to build a curriculum that will achieve a set of

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[1] B. O. Smith, W. Stanley, and J. Shores, Fundamentals of Curriculum Development (New York: World Book Company, 1957), p. 1.

[2] Ibid., p. 12.

> consistent ideas and values in which all members of society can share.[1]

Some attempts have been made by both the State Department of Education and the Bureau of Indian Affairs to adapt instructional material for native classrooms. The greatest progress is apparent in the elementary school areas of reading, health, and the social sciences. At the high school level, the curricula are designed primarily for the college-bound students, of whom there are relatively few. Students are able to obtain limited commercial as well as academic subjects in high school, and girls who have taken full advantage of such offerings have been able to obtain positions as secretaries upon graduation.

Undeniably, students who are convinced that their education is of value, is marketable, and will make a difference in their lives are not likely to leave school before graduation. Pupils leave school because they are disinterested, cannot relate education to their own lives, and face many personal and cultural problems already discussed. The National Education Association report on high school dropouts concludes:

> If youths who doubt the value of school attendance could be brought to realize the connection between school and life and between achievement in school and success in later life, they would see that their time was being well spent. To the potential dropout, being able to apply his school experience to everyday living is a meaningful inducement for completing the school program.[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[2] *High School Dropouts*, p. 15.

CHAPTER IV

THE DROPOUT TODAY: THE CURRENT DILEMMA

In summary, where are today's dropouts, what are they doing, and how do they view the decision which led them away from programs of formal education?

Current Economic Status of the Dropout Student

Over half of the dropout respondents indicated that they are currently unemployed and at best have had only seasonal jobs since leaving school. A few individuals have obtained the jobs which they hoped they could get when leaving school. The employed dropouts are in seasonal and semi-skilled jobs. None of the respondents averaged more than four thousand dollars in the two years following their dropout. This figure includes the commercial fishing income which distorts the income figure for those not so employed. It is difficult to determine whether the high rate of unemployment and low income are attributable to the fact that dropouts are without a high school diploma or whether they are part of the larger and more complex state

In order to convince Alaskan native students of the value of a high school diploma, concrete examples of its worth must be given, and courses necessarily must be linked to the lives and activities of the students. Much can be said for combined school-work programs and for curricula which include such courses as training in diesel mechanics and the use of heavy-duty equipment, hairdressing, cooking, or restaurant services. Such programs would not affect the academic standing of the college-bound graduate, but they would offer added inducement to the potential dropout student to remain in school.

Guidance

With the exception of Mount Edgecumbe, the high schools considered had few provisions for guidance services or personnel. At the private boarding schools students received guidance from teachers and dormitory counselors. In the public schools, principals were responsbile for guidance, and in some cases few attempts were made to provide any student personnel services. Until 1961 the roles of disciplinarian and guidance counselor were vested in the same individual in all native high schools. Frequently, the person having to provide counseling had little or no specific training to qualify him to do so but was trying to perform a necessary task despite his lack of time or training.

Obviously, the person responsible for school discipline cannot also be effective as a counselor. Students will seldom discuss personal problems with the individual who may have to discipline them the next day. Specific guidance counselors are needed, therefore, in state high schools. So far, no funds have been allocated for such positions, and the task has rested with the principals and teachers who labor with the handicap of a limited background and a dual role. In some cases teachers have done an excellent job and students have felt they have received good direction. However, in most instances, time and inclination have not allowed for an effective guidance program in the state high schools included in this study.

In the boarding schools perhaps more opportunity exists than in the local high schools for the student to seek out personnel with whom he may talk freely. During the past year, Mount Edgecumbe High School has relieved its guidance counselor of disciplinary functions, with gratifying results. Where previously students appeared in the guidance office only when referred after a misdemeanor or when being considered for probation or expulsion, students now seek the advice of the counselor and enter the office to talk freely. The addition of a social worker to the staff at Mount Edgecumbe has helped immeasurably. In a Bureau of Indian Affairs conference held on Alaskan education, the following statement was made:

> To help with the acculturation process, the Bureau of Indian Affairs spends a great deal of money on a guidance program; in fact, they spend as much on guidance as they do on school construction. During the past year the Bureau of Indian Affairs has had a

> staff social worker at Mount Edgecumbe. This will be continued since the "drop out" rate for this year was only 11 pupils in comparison with the normal 70 or 80 pupils of previous years.[1]

The noticeable success of the Mount Edgecumbe guidance program should hopefully illustrate for other schools the tangible and positive results which accrue from the provision of such services.

With few exceptions, none of the dropouts conferred with anyone about his decision to leave school early. When these students were asked why they did not discuss their decision with someone prior to leaving school, there were many responses. The relationship between parents and children in Eskimo culture is relatively autonomous and children are treated as responsible individuals capable of making their own decisions without the need to justify them to family or friends. In the Alaskan Interior, the same type of thinking has been found among the Athapascan Indian groups. When parents were asked why their child left school early, many responded that they did not know the reasons, since the child had not informed them. When students were asked what their parents felt about their early departure from school, the majority replied that they did not know, for they had not discussed the matter with their parents.

Students were asked if they would permit their own children to make the independent decision to leave school before graduation. Most respondents indicated that the decision would be left with the child. Numerous comments were received from dropouts, nevertheless, indicating regret that they had not discussed the matter with an individual who might have pointed out some of the difficulties which would be encountered after dropping out of school. The most commonly recurring reasons given by dropouts for their failure to consult someone was their own shyness, or more cynically they thought that their decision did not matter to anyone.

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[1] Memorandum to Theo J. Norby from Richard Clifford concerning a conference held April 17, 1962, at the Bureau of Indian Affairs Office in Juneau between State and Bureau of Indian Affairs on "Agreement of Understanding of Educational Policies."

School personnel were asked what procedures were followed when a student wished to withdraw from school. The majority of responses indicated that the student reported to the principal or that he merely did not appear in school and after a period of time was dropped from the register. At the boarding schools, the procedures varied somewhat as parents had to be notified, and sometimes transportation funds had to be obtained. Boarding school personnel expressed considerable hostility toward parents who sent for their children or who approved the child's request to return home in mid-year. However, they admitted that they were unaware of home conditions or the parents' reasons for demanding the child's withdrawal. Teachers often realized that they had too little understanding of the child's reasons for wishing to return home and could not, consequently, hope to alleviate the causes. One child wrote the school after he had returned home in mid-year and explained that he did not want the school personnel to think badly of him for leaving but that he was much happier at home. The student explained rather poignantly that he had tried to adjust to the continuous conversation and the human noise that surrounded him, but that he had not succeeded and had grown more and more anxious. Therefore, he had gone home where it was quiet, where people did not always talk, and where he could walk alone as often as he wanted and go as far as he liked. Undoubtedly, none but the most skilled counselor could have elicited this student's reasons for leaving school early.

In the public schools, the procedures entailed in "quitting" school are relatively simple. Students simply do not reappear in the classroom. In only one state high school was there any evidence that such unorthodox departures were checked upon. In this school, the local probation officer was contacted, and it was requested that he visit the student's home. Often, the superintendent also went to the pupil's home to discuss this vital decision with the child and his parents. Such attempts were not always successful in inducing the child to return to school; nonetheless, the attempt was made and additional opportunities for careful consideration of this action were afforded the student. Other schools presented ill-defined attempts to work with the potential dropout and appeared to show little concern for his problems. One piece of correspondence written by a superintendent and found in a school file illustrates the lack of concern shown toward the problem:

> [The student] has been absent from school for ten days and has been seen on the streets. Therefore, I assume she is not ill and does not intend to return to school. She owes [$--] for lunch money. Please see that this bill is paid and that her texts are returned to the school immediately.

Parents receiving such a letter are unlikely to urge their child to return to school. Several interviewees from this school stated that they did not return to high school because they felt the superintendent was happy to get rid of them. Dropout statistics from this school support the importance of establishing personal relationships between school personnel and students. To cite additional evidence, during the tenure of that superintendent, the dropout rate in this school rose from about 8 per cent a year to nearly 35 per cent. After three years, he was replaced by a superintendent who involved the parents in school programs, conferred with parents about their children, and dealt personally with students about their problems. The dropout rate decreased to an average of less than 2 per cent during his three-year stay, after which time it went up to approximately 6 per cent. The importance of the attitudes and practices of the local school personnel cannot be overemphasized.

In another community, the superintendent indicated that potential and actual dropouts were interviewed prior to their departure from school. During a walk through town, the superintendent encountered a boy who had been absent from school for over a week. The conversation was approximately as follows:

"I haven't seen you in school lately."

"No."

"Well, if you don't intend to come back to school you'd better turn in your books."

"Okay."

A subsequent check disclosed that this was the only conversation that the student had had with any school personnel concerning his decision to leave school. Furthermore, school records revealed that this boy was a student in good academic standing and was not more than two years over-age for his class. Such contacts prove frustrating and discouraging to students, who interpret them as evidence that the school personnel are not concerned with them as individuals.

Other areas of guidance require urgent attention. Vocational choices are vital decisions for all students and perhaps of even greater concern for native students who face the prospects of leaving their home villages. Students who leave home to pursue vocations must be equipped to succeed not only for their own sakes but for the sake of others, since they become models in community eyes. In the past, students have been ill-prepared to undertake the occupations which they have entered and they often have not been successful. When these individuals have returned to the village as failures, they are unhappy. The community, partially in rationalization, places the blame on the educational system which provided too much knowledge and too little skill. Students need information about vocational alternatives and possible directions in choosing pursuits that are in line with individual skills and capacities.

There is a desperate need for schools and related state and federal offices to establish liaison with existing Alaskan industries to determine the projected number and types of employees needed by these firms in the next decade. Such agencies could help direct young people into these occupations. Schools should play a vital part in the process. For example, with the advent of new business machines, many firms are being converted to utilize this equipment. Business and commercial departments of schools should provide the types of training required for the proficient operation of these new machines so that graduating students can compete for reasonable employment and not be unduly handicapped.

While many able graduates and students with even one or two years of high school are willing and eager to work in Alaska, employees from other states are often recruited who are not intent on remaining in Alaska. Consequently, the employer suffers the problems inherent in an excessively high turnover of personnel which would not result were local qualified residents employed. Schools should gear their curricula to the appropriate demands of

Alaskan industries and businesses. Understandably, the high schools are not equipped to provide the vocational education needed in the state. Post-high school education is required. However, courses which are vocationally oriented can provide valuable instruction for the high school youth--both as exploratory and as introductory courses. Above all, some form of guidance service should be available to help students who have the ability and the desire to become productive wage earners make appropriate educational and occupational choices.

unemployment problem. Over half of the graduates were taking further training and fewer were unemployed than among the dropouts, but returns were so small that any definitive statement on cause and effect would be dubious at best. Despite the number of students who gave "want to work" as a reason for leaving school early, over 70 per cent had no jobs available nor any definite hope of employment. The disparity between stated reason for leaving school and actual reason stands out in such an instance. However, many interviewees genuinely felt that they could find jobs when they left school and had no real concept of the difficulties they would encounter in this respect.

Marital Status of the Dropout Student

Half of the respondents are currently married and were married within one or two years of leaving school. Fourteen per cent of the individuals were married immediately upon leaving school or left school in order to be married. One per cent have divorced. The majority of the married couples has one to three children. Over half live in their own homes. These data are difficult to interpret since cultural patterns may permit and even encourage young married couples to live in the home of the wife's or husband's family. On the other hand, such an arrangement could be interpreted as a lack of responsibility and social and economic dependence. The former rather than the latter is more likely the case.

Current Feelings of Dropout Students

Interviewees and questionnaire respondents stated that if given the opportunity to make the decision again, they would remain to complete high school in 76.4 per cent of the cases. About 7 per cent felt that they would make the same decision, for their lives had worked out well. This 7 per cent comprised mainly females who had married and were happily settled with a family. Eleven per cent of the dropouts felt ambivalent about their decision. Dropouts felt that they should have completed school but also felt that the effort and the unhappiness they had experienced in school was too great to permit them to remain in school if faced with the same decision and the same set of circumstances again.

Forty-two per cent of the respondents felt that there would have been more opportunity to obtain gainful employment had they completed high school. A careful check revealed that in specific communities individuals without much schooling were holding as many jobs as graduates and that the nature of employment available did not require much formal education.

Sixteen per cent of the dropouts felt they would now like to have completed high school just "to know more." Several of these individuals were young mothers who felt they should know more so they could teach their own children something.

Over half the respondents felt that there had been few or no advantages in the original decision to leave school. Dropouts cited lack of knowledge, lack of employment, lack of mobility, and confinement to the village as evidence of the disadvantages of being without a high school diploma. The individuals who felt there had been some positives in the decision were the married females and employed persons who had obtained and maintained a job.

The same reticence which exists between parents and progeny in personal matters seems also to exist between peers. When dropouts were asked what their school friends thought when they decided to drop out of school, a sizeable number reported that their friends made no indications of their feelings. In 45.2 per cent of the cases, however, the friends of dropouts expressed regret that the dropout was leaving school. As far as can be ascertained this expression was not one of disapproval but more an indication of sorrow at the impending end of a friendship, tinged, perhaps, with some feelings of envy. In all cases the decisions of the individuals who left school were respected and never questioned. Nor did dropouts feel the need to justify the decision to their friends. In actuality little discussion took place among peers before or after the decision was made to leave school. In contrast to many non-native students who would have consulted friends prior to making a firm decision, native dropouts consulted no one and made the decisions without reference to parents, friends, or school personnel.

Parents' reactions to their children's decisions to leave school varied from approval to disapproval and from general concern to curiosity. More mothers (36.3 per cent) than fathers (33.7 per cent) disapproved of this action. However, only in a very few cases was this disapproval expressed to the student. The pattern of communication and the belief that such decisions rest with the individual were respected in the majority of cases, and the parents stated that they did not know why the student decided to leave school. Dropouts indicated that they did not tell their parents why they had returned home and that their parents had not asked. In the main dropouts were unable to speculate as to whether their parents approved or disapproved of their decision. From the comments received, however, general parental support was indicated. About 9.9 per cent of the mothers expressed approval, while 7.7 per cent of the fathers felt the same way.

Perhaps one of the most pertinent facts that emerged from interviews and questionnaire returns was the reaction to the question, "If your child were in school and wanted to leave before completing, would you approve?" Eighty-three per cent of the respondents and interviewees stated unequivocally that they would strongly disapprove. Their reasons for disapproval were difficult to define but centered primarily around the concept that education was needed for a "better life," that there was more security with more education, that jobs would be more readily available to the well-educated, and that generally it just helped to know more. An implicit faith remains that education is the panacea for all social and economic ills. While education can undoubtedly help, this concept is an unfortunate one since education is then considered to be of no value when it fails to meet the demands of those who hope it to be all things to all people--a hopeless and unrealistic expectation.

When asked what they felt would be a realistic level of education, dropouts responded that the twelfth grade should be a minimum. About 10 per cent of the dropouts considered eighth grade to be sufficient. These attitudes are in line with responses received from teachers who were asked the same question.

The Dropout in Retrospect

In general, the dropout currently is malcontent, unemployed, and lacking direction. He feels that education is important and that in most cases his original decision was an unfortunate one. He made the decision without consulting anyone and without full realization of what alternatives faced him after such a decision was implemented. Currently, the dropout wishes someone had talked to him about his decision and informed him about the difficulties he would face because of leaving school early.

Life is colorless and unstimulating now; he feels little hope of obtaining adequate employment in the village or elsewhere. He is unsure of himself and his future. He would like to return to school but not necessarily to the same school or courses that he left. On the whole, the dropout would like some vocational training and would be willing to pursue such courses now if he could find out where to enroll and what is available. Many interviewees and respondents asked about obtaining correspondence courses and/or vocational training. Several stated they had sought admission to local high schools but had been refused admission because of age, marriage, or pregnancy. Several individuals stated that they would like to be back in school because "it would give me something to do. All we do is hang around."

Throughout the villages, the investigator found a pervasive sense of malaise among the young people in their twenties and among the younger and more recent dropouts. The same tone was apparent with graduates in the village, but among this group the feeling was decreased somewhat by the hope of leaving the village and obtaining further training or work elsewhere. This age group is sorely in need of constructive work, and many of the individuals have good insight into the problems they are facing but are discouraged by the seeming lack of alternatives for solving these problems. There is a strong desire among these youth to be doing something worthwhile and to be active. The lack of work and activity is highly demoralizing.

Clearly, if the dropouts are to be salvaged, an active and immediate program of special education must be put into effect. Little information is available in the villages on what opportunities exist for vocational training, further schooling, and related matters. Motivation on the part of these individuals is not lacking, but the information and the programs are. In the main, the dropouts are of at least average intelligence and are already motivated toward solving their plight but need direction. Such direction should come in the form of special classes to permit dropouts to complete their high school programs. (Many stated they would take correspondence classes if they could use the school facilities at night and receive occasional help from the teacher.) Special short-term vocational training programs geared to available work opportunities in Alaska are needed as well as the establishment of a good guidance program which would help the individual assess his own skills and seek employment or further training as indicated. If a concerted effort could be made to help salvage this age group, the results would prove eminently worthwhile and expenditures would be returned tenfold. The problem is a crucial one, for the present generation is involved, a generation becoming embittered, restless, and unhappy, a group without direction and in many cases without hope. A way out must be found; help is required from outside the villages to regenerate a discouraged group and aid them in becoming self-respecting citizens.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

The greatest resource possessed by any country is its people. Yet the extent to which this resource is being wasted is truly shocking. Uneducated youth are filtering steadily into the already crowded ranks of the unemployed. Despite our nation's commitment to universal education which extends for all through the twelfth grade, today only slightly more than half of all fifth-grade pupils are graduated from high school.[1]

Alaska's native youth faces additional problems to those usually encountered by the average high school student. Emanating from an environment quite unlike that common to the pupil for whom the typical public school is designed, the Alaskan youth often finds himself in a strange and incomprehensible world considerably different from that which he has come to understand. Values imposed through the schools often conflict directly with those which have been instilled at home. Causes for youth's leaving school before completion are highly complex, and means of improving the school's holding power are varied and often quite subtle. Yet the importance of these problems and the need for their solution prompted the present study. A summary of the major findings and the recommendations growing out of the study follows:

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[1] "High School Dropouts," NEA Research Bulletin, XXXVIII (February, 1960), 11.

(1) Only 34 per cent of Alaska's 5368 youth of high school age (fourteen to nineteen years) is actually enrolled in secondary school. The remainder either have left school or have been retained in lower grades.

(2) Factors contributing to early dropout are apparent at the elementary as well as the secondary level. Incredibly, losses as high as 60 per cent of the total class enrollment were found in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools when the student population was traced from grade one through eight. No comparable data were available for state and private schools.

(3) Overage students drop out of school with considerably greater frequency than those who are near normal grade placement. A study of elementary school dropouts in the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools showed that of 760 dropouts included in the survey, only 1 per cent was at normal grade placement, while approximately half had been retarded five or more years.

(4) Promotion and retention practices are often based on unrealistic standards developed for Caucasian, middle-class, English-speaking youth and do not take into account the background of the particular group being taught. Results from standardized tests clearly inappropriate for the majority of native students are cited frequently as a basis for non-promotion.

(5) Class size in a number of schools is excessive. Particularly when a teacher is teaching in a multi-grade situation, the presence of forty to forty-five students representing a number of different grades in one room presents a formidable barrier to good teaching. Such overcrowded conditions contribute to the impersonal atmosphere sensed by the dropout students and make virtually impossible effective individualized attention and instruction for each student.

(6) Because of the enormous number of native students who do not complete the eighth grade, the secondary school population becomes a screened or selected group--making even more serious the large proportion of students who leave high school prior to graduation.

(7) Lack of high school facilities presents a major obstacle to attaining the goal of universal education through the secondary school. Applications from qualified students who wish to attend high school are rejected because of space limitations. Since parents are reluctant to have their children leave home to attend school, the absence of local high schools deters many students from seeking education beyond the elementary level.

(8) Little relationship is seen by pupils or parents between school curriculum and their village life. Parents do not understand what the school purports to do, nor can they perceive the value education will have in helping children to become economically independent. Beyond the

fact that the children learn reading and writing--tasks which parents consider important--the aims of the schools are not comprehended and hence not fully supported. Conversely, education is sometimes perceived as a disruptive force causing the children who leave for high school to become "different" and dissatisfied when they return to the village.

(9) Economic gain is the primary motive for attending school. The fact that no connection can be seen between education and the ability to earn contributes to early dropout. Because the student is interested in learning to work, he often leaves school to engage in such tasks as wood-gathering, hunting, and fishing, where he determines that his practical learning is valuable.

(10) Inadequate knowledge of job requirements for particular professions causes students and parents to have vague and distorted notions of how one prepares for a certain vocation. On the one hand, a naive faith is held that a high school education will guarantee respectable employment. The return to the village of unemployable high school graduates causes disillusionment. Conversely, information about jobs for which students might realistically prepare is not available; consequently, students often conclude erroneously that gainful employment is beyond their reach.

(11) School personnel possess an inadequate knowledge of the values held by groups with whom they work--

values such as those which determine the roles of parent and child within the family unit, individualistic versus familistic orientation, egalitarianism versus outstanding achievement, respect for the integrity of the individual, abstract versus concrete concepts, temporal orientation, and fatalism. As Davis stated, "To encourage new learning, the teacher must discover the obstacles inherent in the pupil's old learning."[1] Students repeatedly express the attitude that school personnel are not interested in their beliefs or their feelings. Lack of significant personal relationships at school--either with school personnel or other students--add to the dropout's homesickness and suspicion that other people are indifferent toward him.

School curricula are not designed primarily to take into account the readiness and values of the native student population. Too frequently the teachers expect the students to do all of the adjusting to the expectations of the school and feel little obligation to adapt the school program in any way because of the atypical culture of the students enrolled.

(12) Health problems contribute to dropout as the incidence of tuberculosis is comparatively high and the incidence of residual defects such as marginal sight and hearing often go untreated until the child's grade retardation is too great for correction.

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[1] Allison Davis, Social Class Influences upon Learning (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), p. 2.

(13) Intelligence of dropouts as measured by inappropriate standardized tests is not significantly different from the intelligence of student graduates, although differences in extremes can be noted. A greater proportion of superior students complete school than leave before graduation. Similarly, a greater percentage of those deemed to be very dull terminate their education before completion rather than remain through the twelfth grade.

(14) Achievement of dropouts was essentially average. Sixty-seven per cent of the student dropouts had no academic failures in contrast to those in similar studies which reported a higher rate of failure. English is the subject most frequently failed; the social sciences are second in order of the academic area presenting difficulties to native high school students.

(15) No noticeable difference according to sex was discovered; approximately the same number of males as females leave school prior to graduation.

(16) The educational attainment of parents is higher for high school graduates than for dropouts, although the difference between the two groups was lower than anticipated. Parents of graduates had completed an average of seven to eight grades while parents of early school leavers had an average educational level of four to six years.

(17) Generally, dropouts do not participate in extra-curricular activities but remain in social isolation. Their pessimistic self-conceptions are characterized by feelings of rejection, futility, and inferiority.

(18) Difficulties in adjusting to life away from home were encountered by those students who did not complete boarding high school. Discipline practices of these institutions were viewed as being cold and impersonal; school rules were often considered unreasonably harsh and insulting to the students' integrity.

(19) Results of an expanded and revised guidance program at Mount Edgecumbe provided excellent results in decreasing dropouts. Too few guidance counselors are employed in other high schools, and often unqualified and overburdened school personnel attempt to assume this additional duty. Understandably, the results are unsatisfactory. Guidance counseling is often combined with other school functions such as attendance and discipline--a responsibility totally incompatible with proper counseling.

Recommendations

From the basic conclusions developed throughout the study, recommendations were formulated as follows:

(1) Secondary school facilities must be developed which will allow every willing eighth grade graduate to obtain a high school education. When the school population of certain villages becomes sufficient, regional high schools can be established which can provide an adequate comprehensive secondary education. Children should be allowed to attend the high school nearest their home communities, although inevitably pupils from the smaller towns will have to leave their families to go to secondary school.

(2) While the problem is essentially a financial one, efforts should be made to reduce class size in those schools where more than thirty students are placed in one room. Individualized instruction and attention to specific pupil problems cannot be practiced effectively with large class groups, especially where more than one grade is taught in the same room.

(3) Standards for pupil promotion and marking must be developed in terms of the student's own abilities and background. Unrealistic expectations lead to students adopting an attitude of defeatism. Non-promotion intensifies the problem of the student who is overage in grade, clearly a factor contributing to early dropout.

(4) Clearly-organized programs must be established which will communicate to parents and village leaders the objectives of the schools. Parent-teacher associations can benefit these efforts; however, even more direct communication is required to impart to the community's adults the advantages of education and to elicit their support in encouraging youth to remain in school. Only when parents understand the objectives of the school can they be expected to support the program.

(5) Curricular adaptations in school programs are essential. Special instructional techniques must be utilized which deal specifically with teaching English to bilingual or non-English-speaking people. Students must be shown the relationship between their school work and their

lives. Work-experience programs can do much to demonstrate the utility and value of formal learning. The common temporal orientation of native students demands that they see an immediate application for learning. The phrase "this will help tomorrow" will not suffice. Vocational exploratory courses should be expanded to encourage future work in technical school programs for those who are not interested in the purely academic programs.

(6) Information about occupational requisites and programs of education which prepare for particular types of tasks should be imparted to students throughout their school careers. While school counselors should be given the major responsibility for vocational guidance, each teacher in the upper grades can provide information necessary to aid students in preparing realistically for their life's work.

(7) Close co-operation with health authorities and the village nurses should be established to provide early diagnosis of health problems which will affect school performance. The evidence that many children have remained in school with serious maladies indicates a lack of vital information and the inability of teachers to recognize symptoms of illnesses and residual defects. Regular physical examinations for school children should be routine and the results made available to school personnel.

(8) Orientation, in-service training sessions, and summer workshops should be provided for teachers to enrich

their understanding of the values and special problems found in Alaskan native schools. Teachers and administrators should not expect the students to make the entire adjustment to imposed concepts and the instructional program. Additional comprehension by school personnel of the frustrations and agonies faced by groups caught inexorably in the process of acculturation will minimize impatient judgments and exasperations. Patronizing acceptance is not what is urged; rather, action and realistic instruction are necessary and should be based upon clear insights into the problems of the culturally atypical groups comprising native school enrollments. Sessions such as the type suggested could be held during the summer at the University of Alaska or at any other selected school site. The instruction should include information supplied by anthropologists, experts in teaching English as a second language, and persons versed in school-community relations. Realistically, an anthropologist might be employed by school agencies to conduct acculturation studies and work with school personnel as a consultant.

(9) In making academic judgments involving native students, less reliance should be placed on standardized tests. Without exception, authorities in testing minimize the validity of nationally standardized tests when results are applied to culturally atypical groups. While such tests might be useful with proper interpretation, serious danger exists in measuring students according to unrealistic

norms. Students from the more remote villages who suffer the greatest language handicap are unduly penalized--penalties imposed, therefore, are on the basis of geography rather than ability.

(10) Expansion of present programs of adult education will provide parents with additional understanding of values of education for their children. Developing in adults an increased interest in education will provide greater family support of the total school program.

(11) School rules and regulations should be reviewed to determine their reasonableness and the necessity of their retention. Students, possibly elected school councils, should help formulate regulations to govern their own behavior. Individuals usually give the greatest support to those policies which they have helped develop. Less resistance toward school rules would result if students were given a more responsible voice in their own government than exists at present.

(12) Increases in guidance personnel are critically needed. Even in small schools where a full-time counselor cannot be provided, a staff member with appropriate professional training should be assigned to this function. Such a counselor should never be given additional duties, such as checking attendance and disciplining students, which would be in conflict with the guidance role. The person responsible for counseling should conduct routine checks on dropouts, initiate and carry out studies of high

school graduates, and provide vocational information to students.

(13) Dormitory proctors should be carefully selected and should possess training which will enable them to deal with the special problems encountered by homesick youth. Staff members should develop the respect and the confidence of pupils so that student problems are discussed and hopefully solved before they become aggravated and intensified.

(14) Cumulative records should be kept for each child in every school. Personal folders should be sent with the child should he transfer to another school. Such records are invaluable in helping school personnel recognize the symptoms of dropout and related problems which might be dealt with before they become too intensive.

(15) Future research studies are needed which will deal with such topics as: (a) the development of an appropriate curriculum for Alaskan native schools, including the construction of teachers' manuals, resource units, subject guides, and provisions for consultative help in special subject areas; (b) determination of qualifications of teachers and administrators who are most successful in working in rural schools; (c) establishment of suitable high school facilities in appropriate geographical regions; (d) the dropout problem at the elementary school level; (e) educational programs for out-of-school youth--both dropouts and those who have completed high school but remain unemployed;

(f) and community attitudes toward education.

While the problems encountered in native schools are severe, they are not insurmountable. In fact, school personnel are very much aware of the problems cited and are cognizant that the solutions to these problems are relatively simple in several instances if someone would take the initiative to start the process. Discouraging and frustrating situations could be effectively avoided if key administrative personnel were able to spend more time in outlying schools. The problem which may cause the discouraged teacher to resign often can be recognized and remedied before becoming critical. Patience and initiative are required, yet the outstanding dedication and intelligence of many presently employed school personnel working under serious handicaps provide encouragement that the effectiveness of the schools will be improved. Still, action is needed, for once a child leaves school he seldom returns. And while he usually regrets his decision in later life, the deed has been done, and society has lost the services of a potentially valuable human being.

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APPENDIX A

COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Dr. Charles K. Ray, Dean, College of Behavioral Sciences and Education, University of Alaska, College, Alaska; Director.

Dr. Ivar Skarland, Head, Department of Anthropology, University of Alaska, College, Alaska; Assistant Director.

Miss Joan Ryan, Assistant Professor of Education, University of Alaska, College, Alaska; Executive Director, Research.

Dr. Seymour Parker, Assistant Professor of Cultural Anthropology, Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Consulting Anthropologist.

Mr. James E. Hawkins, Area Director, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Juneau, Alaska; Member.[1]

Dr. Theo J. Norby, Commissioner of Education, Alaska Department of Education, Juneau, Alaska; Member.[1]

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[1] Departmental transfers have occurred since the establishment of the Coordinating Committee in 1960. Replacements are as follows:

Mr. Kenneth K. Crites, Acting Area Director of Schools, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Juneau, Alaska; Member.

Mr. Theron Borden, Assistant Commissioner, Alaska Department of Education, Juneau, Alaska; Member.

APPENDIX B

CONSULTANTS

Mr. Frank Brady, Department Head - Guidance Department, Wrangell Institute, Wrangell.

Mr. Kenneth K. Crites, Assistant Area Director of Schools, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Juneau.

Mr. Carroll C. Fader, Acting Director - Vocational Education and Guidance, State Department of Education, Juneau.

Dr. Margaret Lantis, Social Anthropologist, United States Public Health Service, Washington.

APPENDIX C

HIGH SCHOOLS WITH ONE-HALF OR MORE NATIVE ENROLLMENT

MISSION SCHOOLS

Copper Valley

Covenant

Sheldon Jackson

Saint Mary's

INSIDE SCHOOLS[1]

Craig

Nome

STATE SCHOOLS

Bethel

Dillingham

BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS SCHOOLS

Mount Edgecumbe

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[1] Schools meeting state minimum standards administered by local school board.

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE SENT TO ALL NATIVE DROPOUT STUDENTS (1949-1960) FROM SELECTED ALASKAN HIGH SCHOOLS

Please complete the following questions. If you are uncertain about a question, answer it as well as you can. Any additional comments or explanations that you care to make on any part of the questionnaire will be welcome. Send your answer in the self-addressed envelope. Thank you for your help.

Name ______________________________

Present Address ______________________

1. Are you now married? Yes ___ No ___ (Check one)

   If yes, fill in below:

   a) year married ______

   b) maiden name (girls) ______________

   c) number of children ______

   d) (Check one) I live with my parents ___ I live with my husband's parents ___ I live with my wife's parents ___ I live in a rented house ___ We own our own home ___

2. Are you working now? Yes ___ No ___ (Check one)

   If yes, fill in below:

   a) Is your job seasonal ___? permanent ___?

   b) What type of work do you do? __________

   c) How much money do you make a month? _____

3. Please list any work you have done in the last two years.

	Job	Salary Per Month
1)		
2)		
3)		
4)		
5)		

4. If you have been out of high school more than two years, please list the jobs you had the first two years after you left high school.

	Job	Salary Per Month
1)		
2)		
3)		
4)		
5)		

5. When you left school, what kind of work did you want to get? ____________________

6. Did you know you had a job to go to when you left school? Yes ___ No ___

7. If you are not working now, what kind of work are you planning to get? ____________________

____

8. If you are working now or have worked since leaving school, did any of the courses you took at school help you with your work? (Check one)

Not at all ___ Very little ___ A bit ___

Quite a bit ___ Very much ___

9. Explain what courses helped you most __________

____

10. Other than in your job, did any of your school courses or experiences in school help you in any other way in life? Yes ___ No ___
Please explain. ____________________

____

11. Which of the following reasons for leaving school apply to you? (Check all choices that apply)
1) Had to help with work at home ___
2) Reached age 16 ___
3) School work too hard ___
4) Went into the service ___
5) Wanted to get work ___
6) Got married ___
7) Parents wanted me to quit ___
8) Had trouble with teachers ___
9) Had trouble with principal ___
10) Was asked to leave ___
11) I was pregnant ___
12) I was homesick ___
13) I went to hospital ___
14) Other (Please explain) __________

____

12. What was your main reason for leaving school?

____

____

13. While in school, did you belong to any athletic teams or clubs? Yes ___ No ___

14. In general, a) did you like the teachers?
(Check one) Very much ___
Yes ___ Not much ___ No ___
b) did you like the principal?
(Check one) Very much ___
Yes ___ Not much ___ No ___

15. Explain what you liked about the teacher you liked most (without using any names) ___

16. Explain what you disliked about the teacher you liked least (without using any names) ___

17. Do you think the school rules were reasonable?
All ___ Some ___ Few ___ None ___

18. Give an example of any rule you felt was unreasonable. ___

19. While in school did you have trouble with the
principal? Yes ___ No ___
teachers? Yes ___ No ___
other students? Yes ___ No ___

20. If you checked any of the above, explain what trouble you had. ___

21. Did you have difficulty with your school work?
(Check one) Great difficulty ___ Some difficulty ___ Very little difficulty ___
No difficulty ___

22. Did things work out as you thought they might when you left school? (Check one)

Yes ___ To an extent ___ No ___

23. If you now had the chance to decide again about leaving school or staying in, would you leave before completing? Yes ___ No ___ Perhaps ___ Please explain your answer.

____

24. If the school situation had been different when you were a student, would you have remained to complete your course? Yes ___ No ___ Perhaps ___ What changes would you have made?

____

25. How did your parents feel about your leaving school? (Check both)

Mother

approved ___ disapproved ___
didn't care ___ didn't say ___

Father

approved ___ disapproved ___
didn't care ___ didn't say ___

26. What did your friends think about your leaving school before they did? ______________

____

27. If you were a parent and your child wanted to leave school before finishing, would you approve of his leaving? Yes ___ Perhaps ___ No ___ Please explain your answer. ______________

____

28. Before leaving, did you discuss your plans to drop school with anyone? Yes ___ No ___
If yes,
    a) Check the ones you talked to:
    Principal ___ Teacher ___ Friends ___
    Guidance Counsellor ___ Parents ___
    No one ___
    b) Which of the people you talked to encouraged you to stay in school?
    ____

29. Do you believe there were disadvantages in leaving school early? Few ___ Many ___ Some ___
None ___ What were some of the disadvantages, if any? ___________________________
____

30. Do you feel there were advantages in leaving school early? Few ___ Many ___ Some ___
None ___ What were some of the advantages, if any? ___________________________
____

31. If you had stayed in school, do you think the additional education would make life easier or better? Much ___ A bit ___ Very little ___
Not at all ___ Explain your answer ___________
____

32. Circle the lowest grade you think all students should complete:
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

IF YOU HAVE ANY ADDITIONAL COMMENTS, PLEASE ADD THEM ON THE BACK OF THE PAGE.

IF YOU ATTENDED BOARDING SCHOOL, PLEASE COMPLETE THIS SECTION ALSO.

1. Name of boarding school you attended ________

   ____

2. When you attended boarding school, what was your home village? ________________________

3. Did you attend boarding school at the same time as any of the following from your home village?

   Friends ___ Brother ___ Sister ___

   No one ___

4. Did you like boarding school? Very much ___

   It was okay ___ Not very much ___ Not at all ___

5. What did you like most about boarding school?

   ____

   ____

6. What did you like least about boarding school?

   ____

   ____

7. Did you ever feel lonesome while at boarding school? Most of the time ___ Sometimes ___

   Not much of the time ___ Not any of the time ___

8. If you did feel lonesome, which of the following people helped you? Principal ___ Teacher ___

   Dorm Supervisor ___ Brother ___ Sister ___

   Friend ___ No one ___

9. If you could have made any changes at your boarding school, what would you have changed about the school or dormitory? Explain fully.

____

____

10. If the changes you mentioned above had been made, would you have stayed to complete your schooling? Yes ___ Perhaps ___ No ___

11. When you have children and they are ready for high school, would you like them to go to the same boarding school you did? Yes ___ Perhaps ___ No ___ Explain your answer

____

____

12. If you answered No above, and there is no high school in your village, what do you think should be done about providing a high school education for your children? _______________

____

____

IF YOU HAVE ANY ADDITIONAL COMMENTS ABOUT THE SCHOOLS (LEAVING, STAYING, CHANGES, TEACHERS, ETC.), PLEASE WRITE THEM ON THE BACK OF THE PAGE.

APPENDIX E

DROPOUT AND GRADUATE STUDENTS INTERVIEWED IN THE VILLAGES

Clark Adams, Kotzebue.

Martin Agibinik, Unalakleet.

John Ahnupkana, Barrow.

Molly Ahvakana, Barrow.

Albert Albert, Fort Yukon.

Clarence Alexander, Fort Yukon.

Oliver Alexander, Fort Yukon.

Walter Anagick, Unalakleet.

Randall Baalam, Fort Yukon.

Ronald Brown, Kotzebue.

Jimmy Cappock, Kotzebue.

Minnie Chief, Bethel.

Dick Core, Unalakleet.

Amy Eben, Unalakleet.

Jennie (Brower) Felder, Barrow.

Martina Itta, Barrow.

Ebba (Paniptchuk) Ivanoff, Unalakleet.

Sam Ivey, McGrath.

Stephen Joseph, Fort Yukon.

Isaac Junebe, Eagle.

Frances Langley, Nome.

Nina Lee, Kotzebue.

Jerry Lieb, Bethel.

Marge Lincoln, Kotzebue.

Flossie Long, Barrow.

Lois (Otten) Meidinger, Unalakleet.

Martin Nanouk, Unalakleet.

Jim Nathaniel, Fort Yukon.

Clyde Numvik, Barrow.

Cecilia Okpealuk, Nome.

Katherine Okpealuk, Nome.

Angeline Outwater, Nome.

Hannah Peters, Fort Yukon.

Roy Piscoya, Nome.

James Riley, Unalakleet.

Teresa (Outwater) Riley, Unalakleet.

Laurene (Ivanoff) Ryan, Unalakleet.

Sarah (Soxie) Ryan, Unalakleet.

Jimmix Samuelson, Bethel.

John Sherman, Kotzebue.

Martha Sherman, Kotzebue.

Ethel (Sekoruk) Sielak, Barrow.

Gilbert Stevens, Fort Yukon.

Beatrice (Otten) Sturdavant, Unalakleet.

Mrs. (Anderson) Turner, McGrath.

John William, Fort Yukon.

Ellen Williams, Fort Yukon.

Mary Ivey (Bruce) Williams, McGrath.

APPENDIX F

INDIVIDUALS INTERVIEWED IN THE VILLAGES

Mrs. Betty Allain, Aniak. (Ex-Teacher; Manager, Northern Commercial Company)

Miss Edna Backen, McGrath. (Public Health Nurse)

Captain Paige Bent, Fort Yukon. (Episcopal Missionary)

Mr. Richard Carroll, Fort Yukon. (Magistrate)

Miss Elaine Clements, Bethel. (Registered Nurse)

Miss Edna Crawford, Bethel. (Public Health Nurse)

Mr. Frank Degnan, Unalakleet. (Mayor; State Representative)

Miss Jane Doppel, Ketchikan. (Public Health Nurse)

Mr. Wilson Eckles, Kotzebue. (Minister, Friends Church; Ex-Teacher)

Mrs. Wilson Eckles, Kotzebue. (Ex-Teacher)

Miss Barbara Egnaty, Sleetmute.

Mrs. Kenneth Garrison, Fort Yukon. (Former Teacher; 4 H Worker)

Mr. Fred Hamilton, Craig. (Clerk, School Board; Agent, Ellis Airlines)

Constable Gilbert Herbert, Fort Yukon. (Policeman)

Mr. Alexander Hooper, Tununak. (Store Manager)

Mr. George Hooper, Tununak.

Mr. Albert Ivey, McGrath.

Mrs. Bessie Ivey, McGrath.

Dr. W. Jackson, Bethel. (Private Doctor; President, City Council)

Mrs. May Joule, Kotzebue. (Retired Teacher; Cook, School Lunch Program)

Mr. Tony Joule, Kotzebue. (Retired Teacher)

Miss Sarah Junebe, Eagle.

Mrs. Louise Junebe, Eagle.

Mrs. Max Lieb, Bethel. (Ex-Teacher)

Mrs. Sarah Malcolm, Eagle.

Mrs. Annie Mary McKindy, Aniak.

Mr. Art Meier, Fort Yukon. (Lodge Proprietor)

Mrs. Sadie Neakok, Barrow. (Magistrate; Ex-Teacher; Welfare Agent)

Mrs. Marie Nikolai, Aniak.

Mr. Johnny Nusunungiaya, Barrow. (Ex-Member, City Council; State Representative)

Mr. Jim Oksukturak, Nome. (Member, School Board)

Mr. Fred Osbourne, Kotzebue. (Bank Manager)

Mrs. Louise Paul, Eagle.

Mrs. Julia Peterson, Aniak.

Mrs. Nastatia Peterson, Aniak.

Reverend Donald Rollins, Fort Yukon. (Baptist Missionary)

Mrs. Mary Ann Rollins, Fort Yukon. (Baptist Missionary)

Mrs. Annie Simeon, Aniak.

Mr. Ben Smit, Bethel. (City Council; Manager, Northern Commercial Company)

Mrs. T. Snow, McGrath. (Welfare Agent)

Mr. Roy Snyder, Nome. (Member, School Board)

Mrs. W. Solomon, Fort Yukon. (Member, City Council)

Mr. Robert Stacey, Eagle. (Member, City Council)

Mr. Art Stevens, Eagle. (Member, City Council)

Mr. Silas Stevens, Eagle. (Member, City Council)

Mr. Louis Travel, Barrow. (Secretary, City Council; Store Owner)

Reverend Murray Trelease, Fort Yukon.

Miss Jane Wasmuth, Ketchikan. (Public Health Nurse)

Mrs. F. William, Fort Yukon. (Lodge Employee)

APPENDIX G

GUIDE FOR INTERVIEWING DROPOUT STUDENTS

The following questions are representative of the areas of discussion covered in each interview. The wording is not at all that used in each contact due to the many levels of understanding of the respondents. In some instances communication was relatively simple. In others the questions had to be expressed several times in different ways before the informant understood. However, an attempt was made to cover all areas indicated in each interview.

I. DISCUSSION OF THE SCHOOL:

What were some of the things you liked about X school?

What things did you dislike?

Did you feel the rules were reasonable? If not, what ones did you feel were unfair?

Did you like the dorm set-up?

What did you learn that has helped you in your job now?

What do you feel would have been more helpful?

II. DISCUSSION OF DECISIONS:

What made you decide to go to high school?

Did you find things different than you anticipated? In what way? Did this discourage or encourage you?

Did anyone help you make your decision? Who?

What did you think you would gain by attending high school?

What made you decide to leave? Was there any specific instance?

Did you discuss this decision with anyone?

What was their reaction?

If someone had encouraged you, would you have stayed?

III. DISCUSSION OF EFFECTS OF DECISION:

What did you do immediately after leaving school? Had you planned to do this when you left?

What are you doing now?

What do you plan to do in the next few years?

Do you feel that if you had completed high school things would be any different? In what way?

If given the chance, would you decide any differently now? Why?

IV. DISCUSSION OF PEER AND COMMUNITY STATUS:

Do you think the high school graduates have any better life than you? In what way?

Do you feel you could get a better job if you had completed?

What do you feel were the advantages and disadvantages of leaving when you did?

What was the reaction of your friends? Your parents?

How far do you think young people should go in school?

Who should make the decision as to whether you stay in school or not? (parents, school, pupil)

What will you do when your children are high school age and are considering entering or dropping?

Is it difficult for the high school student to return to the village? In what ways? Do you feel you are treated any differently than the students who only went to eighth grade? In what way?

APPENDIX H

GUIDE FOR INTERVIEWING PARENTS OF DROPOUT AND GRADUATE STUDENTS AND OTHER VILLAGE PEOPLE

The following questions are representative of the areas of discussion covered in each interview. The wording is not at all that used in each contact due to the many levels of understanding of the respondents. In some instances communication was relatively simple. In others the questions had to be expressed several times in different ways before the informant understood. However, an attempt was made to cover all areas indicated in each interview.

I. DISCUSSION ON EDUCATION PER SE:

Does it make a difference whether children go to high school?

What differences are there between the eighth grade graduate and the person who completes high school?

Is life any simpler (easier, better) for the high school graduate?

If high school is seen as a means of attaining a competitive position for economic employment, does the individual who does not achieve wage-employment have anything over the eighth grader? (That is, was it still worthwhile for him/her to attend high school?)

Have you seen any evidence in this community of life being easier (better, fuller) for the high school graduate? What evidence?

What are the children learning in school that is worthwhile regardless of what life pattern they follow?

What things do you think the children should be learning?

When a child decides to go to high school, do the adults encourage or discourage him? Is this decision left to the child himself?

When a child leaves high school, what is the attitude of his parents (friends, community)?

Does the high school graduate (or the person with one or two years of high school) have any different status than the eighth grader? If so, in what way is their status different?

Is it easier for high school students to get jobs here than the eighth graders? What kind of jobs do they get? Do different jobs have different status in the community? (That is, is there any difference in feeling towards the laborer than the school clerk or the waitress versus the nurse's secretary?)

What kind of life do the people visualize for their children? In what way is education a part of this consideration?

II. DISCUSSION OF THE PARENTS' ROLE IN EDUCATION:

What is the relationship of the parents to the school? Do they feel any responsibility towards the school? Are they encouraged to participate in the administration of the school?

What measures do they take to keep their children in school?

What are they prepared to sacrifice in order to send their children to high school?

How much do they understand of what goes on in high school. (That is, what are their expectations toward the school and their children's achievement?)

What are their feelings concerning local versus boarding schools (advantages and disadvantages of each)? Are there any perceived differences between the mission and Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools? If so, are these differences important?

APPENDIX I

SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITIES VISITED BY THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR IN CONNECTION WITH THE ALASKAN NATIVE HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUT STUDY

Aniak

Barrow

Bethel

Copper Valley

Craig

Dillingham

Eagle

Fort Yukon

Holy Cross

Ketchikan

Klawock

Kotzebue

McGrath

Mount Edgecumbe

Nome

Pilot Station

Saint Mary's

Tununak

Unalakleet

APPENDIX J

QUESTIONNAIRE SENT TO TEACHERS IN ALL ALASKAN SCHOOLS WITH ONE-HALF NATIVE TOTAL ENROLLMENT

PART A - GENERAL (ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL PERSONNEL PLEASE COMPLETE EACH ITEM IN PART A)

Name______________________________Age_____

Current Address____________________________

Name of School_____________________________

Current Position___________________________

If your school employs homogeneous grouping, what ability group do you teach? ____________

1. Place of recruitment________________________
2. Where did you receive your teacher-education? ____
3. Degree or Certificates received ____________ Graduation Year __________
4. What was your college major? ______________
5. What was your college minor? ______________
6. How many semester hours of elementary education courses did you have? ____ How many semester hours of secondary education courses did you have? ____
7. Previous teaching experience: Outside Alaska _____ years In Alaska _____ years

8. What made you choose to teach in Alaska? ____

9. Do you plan to make teaching in Alaska a career? ________________

10. If you were choosing again, would you come to Alaska to teach? ________________

11. What do you think is a satisfactory and realistic level of education for the average native student (any individual who is of one-fourth or more Eskimo, Indian or Aleut descent) in your community given the present situation? (Circle one)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

College: 1 2 3 4 Other: 1 2 3 4

12. In what ways would you compare native students with non-native students using the following code in each space: S-superior, ND-no different, I-inferior, NBC-no basis for comparison.

________________academic potential

________________academic achievement

________________emotional development

________________discipline

________________personality

________________honesty

________________academic readiness

________________physical development

________________employment potential

________________responsibility

________________cooperation

________________other (specify)

____

13. How many native students have you enrolled in your class? ______ What per cent of the natives in this class do you consider to be high school material? __________%

14. What do you think is the maximum age after which a student should not enter high school? (Circle one)

    13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 no maximum

15. Do you feel grade school personnel have any responsibility to encourage students to enter high school?

    Yes ___ No ___

    If yes, explain in what way this responsibility might be met. ____________________________________

    ____

    If no, whose responsibility is it? ____________

    ____

16. Do you think high school personnel have any responsibility to encourage the students to complete the four year program? Yes ___ No ___

    If yes, in what ways can this responsibility be met? ____________________________________

    ____

    ____

    If no, please explain your answer. ____________

    ____

    ____

17. If a student wants vocational training, at what point do you think he should begin this training? (Check one)

during sixth grade ___ during high school ___
during eighth grade ___ after high school ___
after eighth grade ___ other (specify) ______

18. What advantages, if any, do you see in the average Alaskan native obtaining a high school diploma? Be specific. ____________________

____

____

19. Do you feel the average Alaskan native student realizes the importance of obtaining adequate education? Yes ___ Not fully ___ No ___

20. To what degree do you feel the native parents understand the education their children are getting? Very high ___ High ___ Moderate ___
Low ___ None ___

Do you feel the school should try to help parents understand more about the purposes of education?
Yes ___ No ___ Perhaps ___

If yes or perhaps, in what way might this be done?

____

____

____

21. In which of the following, if any, do you feel the school should offer leadership? Using "1" as the most important, number all items in order of importance. Use "0" for items you feel the school should not deal with at all.

intramural sports
weekly dances
scouting programs
adult recreation
arts and crafts
hot lunch program
miscellaneous social activities
mothers' club
adult education
health education
4 H clubs
community development
PTA activities
none of these
other (specify) ____________________
comments, if any ____________________
____

22. In some communities, the school personnel become active members of the community, attending social functions and mixing freely with the community members so that, eventually, they become part of the community itself. In other communities, the school personnel create their own social life and have more restricted associations with members of the community except in school matters. Which do you feel is the better situation and why? ____________
____
____

PART B (ALL PERSONNEL COMPLETE)

Please code your answers to the following with the symbols: SA-strongly agree, A-agree, U-uncertain, D-disagree, SD-strongly disagree. Place your answer in the space to the left of the numbered question.

_____1. School standards should be adaptable to the particular group of students found in each community.

_____2. A high school education is of value even to the individual who follows the traditional hunting and fishing way of life.

_____3. It is not practical to consult native parents about school matters if they don't really understand the school program in which their children are enrolled.

_____4. Many students fail to appreciate what the school does for them.

_____5. In cases where the native student receives little discipline at home, the school must provide firm controls.

_____6. Despite the fact that young native students may eventually live in a non-native culture, teachers could instruct more effectively if they were knowledgeable about the cultural values and background of these students.

_____7. The schools should not adjust academic standards for the native students. They must be held to accepted national academic norms.

_____8. Counseling students about their future plans is one of the teacher's responsibilities.

_____9. One of the most important functions of the village school should be to prepare young and able natives to get away from the village and obtain work or higher education in a larger center.

PART C - ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PERSONNEL ONLY (HIGH SCHOOL PERSONNEL TURN TO PART D)

1. Are the students in your grade school encouraged to enter high school? Yes ___ No ___ If yes, by whom? ______________________________

2. Where do the eighth grade native students of your school attend high school? Locally ___
   Mt. Edgecumbe ___ Sheldon Jackson ___
   Copper Valley ___ St. Mary's ___
   Other (specify) ______________________

3. Using number "1" as the highest, number in order of importance the criteria considered when recommending a student for high school. Use "0" for those factors which you consider non-applicable. Number all items.
   personality ___
   financial ability ___
   academic achievement ___
   academic potential ___
   family background ___
   student is 14 or under ___
   motivation ___
   other (specify) ______________________

4. Using number "1" as the highest, number in order of importance the criteria which would tend to make you discourage a student from going to high school. Use "0" for those factors which you consider non-applicable. Number all items.

disciplinary problem ___
low academic achievement ___
student is over 14 ___
family background ___
student not motivated ___
low academic potential ___
other (specify) ______________________

5a. In each of the following cases, how would you counsel the native student and what are some of the reasons you have for counseling as you do?

5b. Would you contact the parents in each case? If so, what would the nature of the contact be? If not, why?

Case 1. Johnny is a "B" student and has attended grade school regularly. He has good academic potential. He is likeable and is no disciplinary problem. His family follows the traditional native way of life and Johnny is himself a good hunter. Johnny is fourteen and finishing eighth grade. Discussions with Johnny show that he has not thought about going to high school but that he is interested in hunting with his father. The parents are leaving any decision up to Johnny.

Case 2. Jonas is an average student who has gone through grade school without much effort and has average potential as a high school student. He is not too enthusiastic about going to high school but is not too eager to stay in the village and hunt. He is not at all sure about what he wants to do. He is fifteen.

PART D - HIGH SCHOOL PERSONNEL ONLY

1. What do you think are the main reasons that students have for leaving school before completing the four year program? Using "1" as the most important, rank all applicable factors in order of importance. Use "0" for factors which you consider non-applicable. Number all items.

lack of interest ___
academically limited ___
laziness ___
pregnancy ___
high school location inconvenient ___
parents need him at home ___
disciplinary reasons ___
marriage ___
health ___
inappropriate curriculum ___
other (specify) ______________________________

2. If a student is doing unsatisfactory academic work, which of the following steps do you take? (Check all applicable responses.)
   - student is put on probation ___
   - student is expelled after probation ___
   - student is given remedial work ___
   - student is retained until passing ___
   - student is given social promotion ___
3. Of the above (Question 2) which do you feel is most effective? ________________________
4. What procedure does your school use when a student wants to withdraw? (Check all applicable responses.)
   - student confers with principal ___
   - student confers with teacher ___
   - student confers with guidance person ___
   - school confers with parents ___
   - none of these ___
   - other (specify) ____________________
5. What procedures do you feel the school should follow when a student indicates he plans to leave school before he obtains his high school diploma? Be specific. ____________________

   ____

   ____
6. Do you feel the attitudes of the high school personnel affect in any significant way the student in his decision to stay in or leave high school?

Totally significantly ___ Very significantly ___ Significantly ___ Partially ___ Not at all ___

If partially significant or more, in what ways are students affected? ____________

____

____

7. What do you identify as the major factors which adversely affect the education of the Alaskan native high school student? Number all items in order of importance using "1" as the most important and "0" for factors which are non-applicable.

lack of motivation ___
lack of parental interest ___
lack of discipline ___
age-grade retardation ___
lack of adequate facilities ___
poor health ___
poor economy ___
lack of responsibility ___
lack of academic ability ___
lack of school supplies ___
other (specify) ____________

8. Do you have any suggestions which might help to improve the holding power of schools?

9a. In each of the following cases, how would you counsel the native students and what are some of the reasons you have for counseling as you do?

9b. Would you contact the parents in each? If so, what would the nature of the contact be? If not, what would be some of the deciding factors?

Case 1. Paul is a less-than-average student, but not failing, who seems motivated to complete high school. He is finishing his freshman year and is almost seventeen. He has expressed the desire to get more education and his chances for success are questionable but not at all impossible. Paul's parents would like him to get a job but are leaving the decision up to him. He could return to high school, he could get a seasonal laboring job, or he could hunt.

Case 2. Michael is completing his freshman year and is sixteen years old. He is unattractive, and a difficult student who seems to work only erratically. He appears to have high ability but is a low achiever. He achieves well only in the classes in which he is interested and is a source of disturbance in other classes. Michael seems unimpressed with the fact that the school may not readmit him. There is no question of his ability to perform well when he is motivated. Several people have tried to encourage Michael to improve his behavior and academic performance. What should the school do:

readmit him because of his potential and hope he'll become motivated or refuse him admittance because of poor achievement and for disciplinary reasons? In addition, how would you counsel Michael?

APPENDIX K

ALASKAN SCHOOL PERSONNEL INTERVIEWED

Dr. R. Rolland Armstrong, President, Sheldon Jackson Junior College, Sitka.

Mr. Frank Brady, Department Head - Guidance Department, Wrangell Institute, Wrangell.

Mrs. Aloy Brawner, Teacher, Pilot Station.

Mrs. Emily Brown, Teacher, Kotzebue.

Miss Alberta Challis, Department Head - Guidance Department, Mount Edgecumbe Boarding School, Mount Edgecumbe.

Mr. Robin R. Dean, Superintendent, Mount Edgecumbe Boarding School, Mount Edgecumbe.

Reverend Francis J. Fallert, Principal, Copper Valley School, Glenallen.

Mr. A. Glandon, Assembly of God Missionary-Teacher, Fort Yukon.

Mrs. A. Glandon, Assembly of God Missionary-Teacher, Fort Yukon.

Mrs. John Harvison, Principal Teacher, Sleetmute.

Mr. Larry J. Hendricks, Sr., Acting Superintendent, Craig.

Mr. Robert D. Hollingsworth, Area Field Representative, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Bethel.

Mr. Thomas R. Hopkins, Department Head, Adacemic Department, Mount Edgecumbe Boarding School, Mount Edgecumbe.

Mr. William A. Jackson, Principal, Mount Edgecumbe Boarding School, Mount Edgecumbe.

Mr. Fred Koschman, Dean, Sheldon Jackson Junior College, Sitka.

Mr. W. Frank Latta, Principal, Sheldon Jackson High School, Sitka.

Mr. Richard R. McCormick, High School Principal, Nome.

Mrs. Nell Meier, Teacher, Fort Yukon.

Mr. Don Moline, Principal, Friends High School, Kotzebue.

Mrs. Don Moline, Teacher, Friends High School, Kotzebue.

Mr. John A. Moore, Principal, Bureau of Indian Affairs School, Unalakleet.

Mr. Fred Pollock, Teacher, Bureau of Indian Affairs School, Barrow.

Father Arthur Poole, Superintendent, Saint Mary's Mission School, Saint Mary's.

Mr. Conrad Potter, Superintendent, Nome.

Mr. Elvon G. Skeen, Superintendent, Bethel.

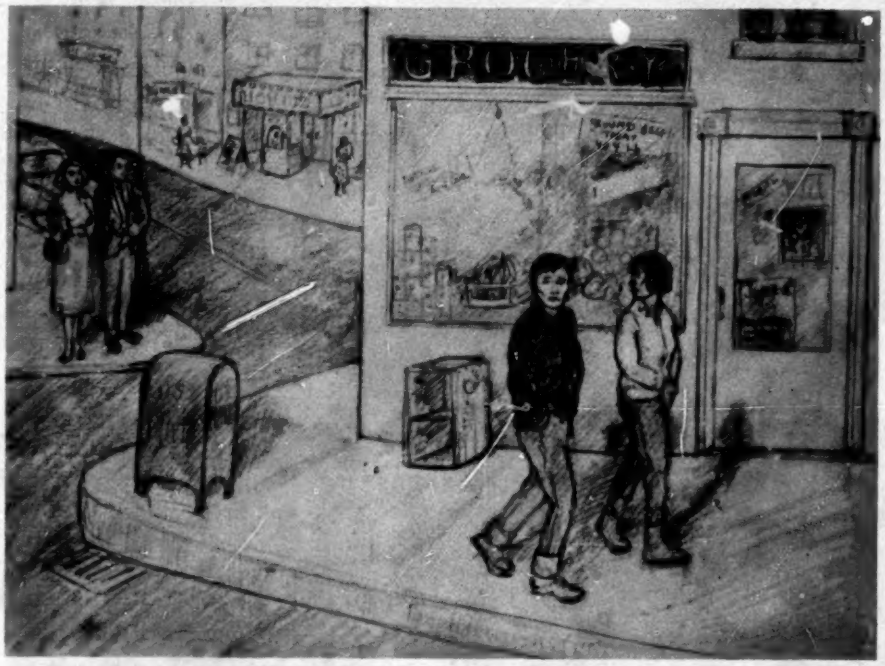
Mr. Elmer C. Smith, Superintendent, Dillingham.

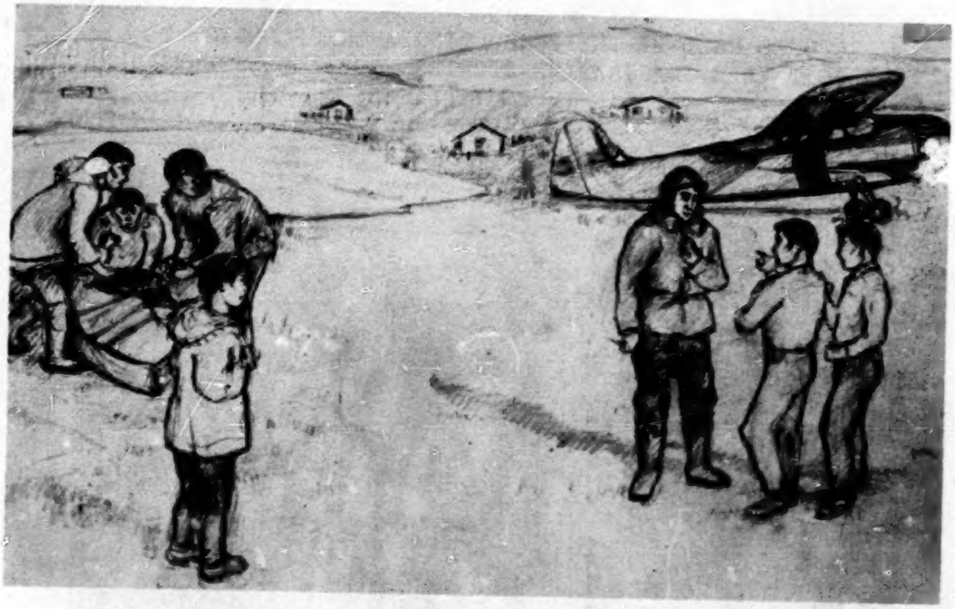
Mr. Jack Sprague, Head Teacher, McGrath.

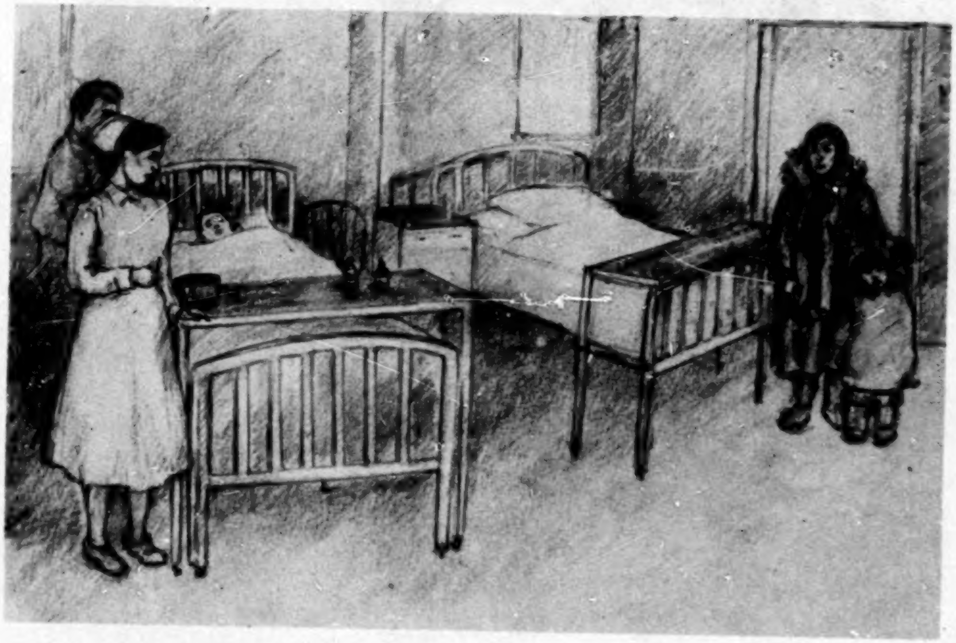
Mr. Donald Williams, Acting Principal, Barrow.

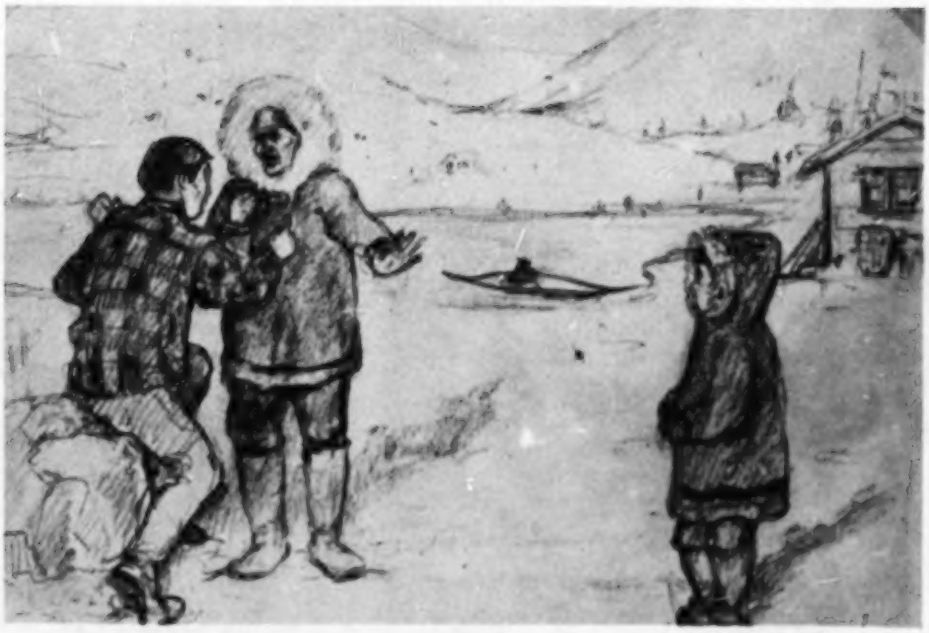
APPENDIX L

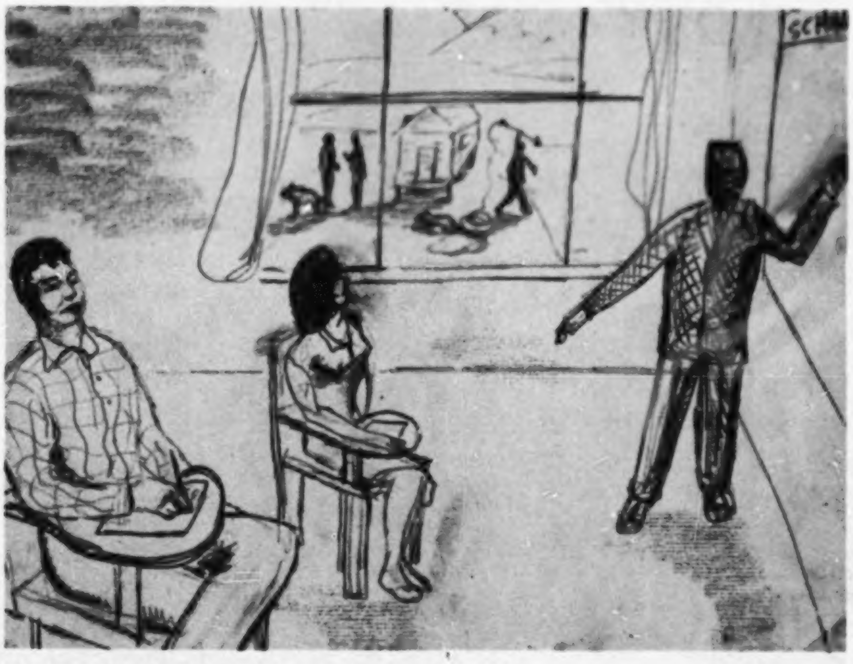
PICTURES USED BY THE CONSULTING ANTHROPOLOGIST TO ELICIT FREE IMAGINATIVE STORIES FROM ADOLESCENTS IN THREE VILLAGES







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